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Daniel Kane

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> There are many reconstructions, and not all of them can be correct. This is an obvious fact. Then is only one reconstruction accurate? Hard to say. For each reconstruction, there will always be other researchers who disagree. This situation is troublesome not only for the general reader and for novices in the field; even such a famous grammatologist as Nishida Tatsuo could only sigh: "To tell you the truth, the Kitan script is becoming more and more incomprehensible. Things which we were not able to understand before we are even less able to understand now." - Speech at Kyoto Conference 1991. Quoted in Chinggeltei 2002:15.

Kitan is a largely undeciphered language preserved in about forty epitaphs from the 11th century. It is also one of the most intriguing riddles in the field of Altaic linguistics. In theory, it cannot be deciphered: the script cannot be read; it has no known cognate languages. These statements, however, are not entirely true: many Chinese words have been identified in the Kitan script, and these have given approximate values to about one third of the known graphs. Using these values, a large number of Chinese official titles and placenames can be deciphered. However, most of the graphs used primarily to write Kitan words have not been deciphered - only those which are also used in the Chinese transcriptions. Again, that is not entirely true: some native Kitan words have been tentatively identified on the basis of these transcriptions, possible cognates in other languages, and more often than not, educated guesswork. Nevertheless, even when Kitan words, and whole sentences, are transliterated, they do not yield anything resembling Mongol, Jurchen, Turkic or any other attested language. This situation has lead to some researchers suggesting that Kitan graphs had two 'readings': one set for transcribing Chinese and another set of values when writing Kitan. The first set is partially known, the second set remains to be discovered. This is unlikely, but the fact remains that the transcription of Kitan is by no means straightforward, or even settled. Much remains to be discovered.

As for cognate languages, some of the numerals, the seasons and the names of some animals are clearly similar to Mongol, whether through affinity or borrowing we cannot tell. Kitan is indisputably 'Altaic' in the broad sense, with vowel harmony, agglutination, case markers and subject-object-verb syntax. There is no Kitan-Chinese glossary extant, such as those available for Middle Mongolian or Ming dynasty Jurchen. There is only one short bilingual, and even that cannot be completely deciphered. The

meanings of words and the basic morphology and syntax of the language have to be implied through the context of imperfectly understood texts.

Despite all this, a certain amount of information on Kitan can be extracted from the texts. In many ways working on Kitan is like working on Etruscan. In both cases the texts are mainly epitaphs, where words like father, son, married and died can be deduced from the context. The Etruscan script can be read; until a couple of decades ago, the Kitan script could not, and even now cannot be read with confidence. And although there is a supposition that Kitan will eventually turn out to be related to some form of proto-Mongol, if only the right readings for the graphs could be determined, and although some words are indeed similar to Mongol, no sense can be extracted from transcribed texts with a knowledge of Mongol. It may well be that Kitan was related to Mongol in the sense that Latin was related to Oscan. Which gives as much comfort as trying to decipher an Oscan inscription with only a knowledge of Latin.

When one of my colleagues learnt I was writing attempting to write a book on the Kitan language, he commented that it would not be a very long book. Another colleague was more encouraging in relation to the comparison with Etruscan: just because not much is known about the language is no reason for not writing down what is known. It is in that spirit that this book has been written.

This book deals with a limited corpus - the inscriptions in the Kitan small script. A separate chapter relates what is currently known about the large script. Kitan words in Chinese transcription, which until recently formed the major source of our knowledge of Kitan, are not treated, unless they also occur in the inscriptions. These words have been dealt with extensively in the literature, and not much more can be said. There are many other issues, however, which are not dealt with here. One is the relationship of Kitan to other languages. It may well be that Kitan can be described as 'paramongolic', or that there is a Kitan substratum or superstratum in Daur, but these issues remain to be investigated at a later stage. The question of the descendants of the Kitans, though not a linguistic one, may have some bearing on this issue. Other issues are Kitan names, and indeed the name of the Kitan state. As historical documents, the Kitan inscriptions provide much material lacking in the Chinese texts, but these are also not primarily related to the language and script, and are not discussed here.

Thanks and acknowledgments

This book has its beginnings in the early 1970s, when Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz referred me to the section on the Kitan script in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao.* There was a flurry of activity as I collected and read all the published research, but needless to say I did not get very far. I turned my attention to Jurchen, in the vague expectation that the Jurchen script, which can at least be partly understood, might give some insights into Kitan. That is still a possibility: the Jurchen script is clearly derived from the Kitan large script, but the relationship between them is not clear. Neither seems to be related directly to the Kitan small script, in which most of the inscriptions are written.

In 1980 I attended an exhibition of *Languages and Scripts of Ancient Minorities* at the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing, where I met Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin, two of the members of the Kitan Research Group. They gave me a copy of their original report on the Kitan small script, published in 1979. I translated that for my own interest at the time, but other matters directed my attention away from Kitan for some years. In 1996 I was again working in Beijing, and contacted my old friends Jin Qizong, the foremost expert on Jurchen, Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin. From them I learnt of the many recent archaeological discoveries which had provided more textual material in Kitan.

The real impetus to rekindle my interest in Kitan came in 2003, when Liu Fengzhu told me he was preparing a complete annotated corpus of all Kitan inscriptions, in both the small and large scripts. So I started going through *Research on the Kitan Small Script*, the *major opus* published by the Kitan Research Group in 1985, and also read up on publications over the past twenty years. The suggestion that I write a book on Kitan came from Nicola di Cosmo in 2004, and he has been unfailing in encouraging me to persist in what sometimes seemed a bottomless pit. Once I started working in earnest, many scholars and friends came to my aid. Liu Fengzhu sent me practically all articles published on Kitan in China over the past few years, and also sent me Ji Shi's *Seeking a Path through the Forest of Riddles.* Aisin Gioro Ulhicun sent me her *Research on the Kitan Language and Script.* In 2006 Liu Fengzhu accompanied me to visit museums and research institutes in Chifeng and other parts of Inner Mongolia, introducing me to archaeologists, museum curators and other researchers in the field. In 2007 I also met Professor Chinggeltei and his research team in the University of Inner Mongolia, and Ji Shi at the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences. Professor Chinggeltei presented me with a copy of his invaluable *Issues in the Decipherment of the Kitan Small Script*, and Wu Yingzhe gave me a copy of

his PhD thesis *Research on Nominal Grammatical Categories in Kitan*, and several other articles by himself and others. Without this material, the present book could not have been written.

Some of the original inscriptions have been well preserved; others are quite damaged, and this sometimes results in probably inaccurate transcriptions. It is also a well known fact that Chinese sources on the Liao are often not reliable. The *Liaoshi,* the official Chinese history of the Liao, was compiled on the basis of scanty materials some two centuries after the demise of the dynasty. Individuals are referred to by one name here, another name there. Their names in the *Liaoshi* often do not correspond to their names in the Liao Chinese or Kitan inscriptions. Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words are generally not very accurate, and in many cases are probably wrong. All of which makes acquiring some knowledge of what is known about the Kitan language and script a rather formidable challenge.

Many of the original texts and studies on them are now readily available, and this book will hopefully make them more approachable. Kitan still needs a prolonged attack by number of specialists in various disciplines before it will give up its secrets: sinologists and altaicists, philologists and linguists, historians and archaeologists. This book is probably more sinological than altaistic, more philological than linguistic, more historical than archaeological, which represents both the nature of the material and my own weaknesses. There are many unsolved issues in this book which will be obvious to specialists in Liao history, or Middle Mongolian, or Old Turkic. Chinese scholars often call their work "a piece of rock thrown to attract jade", and it is in this spirit that these lines are written.

This book is typographically complex, and has benefited greatly from the patient explanations of my editor, Patricia Radder, on such matters as margins, font sizes and other vagaries of computer programs. I must also thank her for believing in the existence of this rather arcane book long before it was in any fit state to actually show her a first draft.

It is common for a scholar to thank his wife. Ye Xiaoqing is a specialist on Qing history. Some of the Chinese versions of the imperial epitaphs in praise of one or another of the Liao emperors are almost as incomprehensible as the Kitan texts themselves, and her help has been invaluable. She has also had to share her life with my scribes from the pines and deserts for some years. For the rest I stand on the shoulders of pioneers and current authorities: Pelliot and Franke, Wittfogel and Fêng, Ligeti and Kara, Liu Fengzhu, Chinggeltei, Ji Shi, Hambis, Taskin, Šavkunov, Toyoda, Nishida, Wu Yingzhe, Aisin Gioro Ulhicun and many other scholars whose works appear in the bibliography and footnotes.

Transcription conventions

Research distinguished 378 graphs in the Kitan small script, which has become the standard list. A new list has been prepared by Chinggeltei's research team, but this has not yet been published. Some are logographs, some are logographs used phonetically. Some appear to be graphic variants of others. Most of the identified graphs are phonograms. There is still a large number of unidentified graphs: neither their meaning, nor pronunciation, or even whether they are logographs or phonogram, is known.

The principles of the Kitan script are by no means fully understood. It is possible some graphs represent consonants, some vowels, some syllables of the CV type, some of the VC type, and some of the CVC type. The script is used to transcribe two quite different languages, Kitan and Liao Chinese. Some graphs are used only in Kitan words, some only in Chinese words, some in both. We might presume those in the first group represent phonemes present in Kitan but absent from Chinese, such as the back velars and laryngeals. Others represent phonemes present in Chinese but not present in Kitan, such as dental affricates and retroflexes. The Kitan script is said to have been inspired by the Uighurs, and it may be there are two sets of consonants, one set used with front vowels, one set used with back vowels.

The readings of many graphs have been determined through the Kitan transcription of Chinese words. These are transcribed 𘬀 ‹a› 𘬁 ‹b› 𘬂 ‹c› 𘬃 ‹d› and so on. This leads to transcriptions such as 𘬂𘬂 ‹c.c› and 𘬄𘬅𘬁 ‹s.l.b›. It is widely presumed there is an "inherent vowel" attached to the consonant, that is, the graphs represented syllables, not consonants. Seen from a Chinese perspective this is likely; seen from a Uighur perspective, there is no reason to suppose this is the case. As an interim measure, an "inherent vowel" has been supplied when called for. Generally speaking, this is [o] after labials, [i] after palatals and affricates and [e] after dentals. So 𘬂 𘬂 and 𘬄𘬅𘬁 are transcribed ‹ci.ci› and ‹se.le.bo›. When two graphs seem to represent the same sound, or perhaps a slightly different one, they are transcribed 𘬆 ‹o› 𘬇 ‹ó› and 𘬈 ‹ô›, 𘬉 ‹u› 𘬊 ‹ú› and 𘬋 ‹û› etc. Chinese scholars sometimes use ‹ə› as the symbol for the "inherent vowel", which may or may not be modified by other vowels in the same word in accordance with the principles of vowel harmony. This is possible, but the script is not understood well enough to come to any firm conclusions.

Articles in Chinese and Japanese quote words and phrases in Kitan without transcription. This is not acceptable in a work written in English. The transcription system here is provisional and certainly less than perfect. It is simply used *faut de mieux*. Chinese specialists, when talking about the Kitan script, often refer to 𘬌 ‹kǎ› as 卡 *ka*, 𘬊 ‹ú› as 八干 *bagan* and so on,

simply as a mnemonic, without any implication that 卡 was really pronounced [ka]. I have adopted this system here, indicating such transcriptions with an unusual diacritic like a question mark written above the vowel, so 年 ‹nėn› (年), 天 ‹tėn› (天) and 午 ‹ů› (午). This system of mnemonics is certainly less than satisfactory, but the alternative is to use the graphs in their original form, to use their numbers or pepper the text with question marks.

Modern Mandarin is transcribed in *pinyin*. Liao Chinese is transcribed in a modified *pinyin* which is meant to represent the phonemes of the variety of Chinese underlying the Kitan transcriptions. This transcription is described and discussed in Chapter Seven. Transcriptions of Liao official titles have been given in reconstructed Liao Chinese, not modern Mandarin. Reconstructed Liao forms are preceded by an asterisk. The asterisk is also used with Kitan names for which a more precise phonetic form is not possible at this stage. Middle Chinese is transcribed according to the general principles in Baxter 1992 and 2002, somewhat modified.

The Kitan true type font used in this book was created with Font Creator 5. It is based on the calligraphy of Xing Fuli, one of the original members of the Kitan Research Group. It is widely used in books and articles on Kitan published in China, including *Research.* Wu Yingzhe and Aisin Gioro have developed their own fonts. Graphs in the Kitan large script are based on the calligraphy on the *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture*, and other texts in the large script, generated by the same process. Occasional graphs in the Jurchen script are from the font created by Jason Glavy, itself based on Jin Qicong's handwritten graphs in his *Jurchen Dictionary.*

Transcriptions of the Kitan small graphs are given between single *guillemets* ‹ ›, and of the Kitan large graphs between double *guillemets* « ». Occasional suggested phonetic transcriptions are given between square brackets [ ].

This book contains a large number of references to Liao administrative terminology, Kitan tribes, lineages and hierarchies, horizontal tents and maternal uncles, Chinese reign periods, stems and branches and innumerable official titles. It is not been possible in a book on the Kitan language to give a detailed explanation of these terms, which can be found in Wittfogel and Fêng 1949 or Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China.* There is also a good deal of duplication in various entries throughout the book. The alternative was an extensive system of cross-referencing which would have made things even more complicated. For these and many other inadequacies, I am alone responsible.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> It is not impossible that the countries which were under their domination still contain stone monuments, with inscriptions destined to perpetuate the remembrance of treaties of peace, of decisive battles, and splendid actions. It is customary, in China, to erect tablets on such occasions, and the Tartars frequently conform to this practice. If any such could be found, with inscriptions in the characters of the Leaou or the Kin, we should be enabled to speak from knowledge, in deciding whether the Tartars had adopted the Chinese characters purely and simply, or whether they had subjected them to some such corruption as those alluded to above; whether they had adhered to what others had thought out before them, or whether they had themselves taken a step in advance in this career, which is open to inventive and perfective genius. For want of such decisive monuments, being unprovided even with such Chinese works as could supply the want in presenting us with syllabaries, with alphabets, or with words expressed in the characters in question, we are reduced to conjectures regarding the system of writing followed by the Tsitan and the Neu-chīh. J. P. Abel Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares* (1820); quoted in A. Wylie, "On an Ancient Inscription in the Neu-chih Language" (1860).

1.1 Background

Until the twentieth century the only known surviving text in Kitan was the *Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty* (the Langjun inscription), engraved on the "stele without an inscription" in front of the tomb of Empress Wu Zetian of the Tang dynasty in Xi'an. It was well known before modern times, but scholars thought it was in the Jurchen script, being misled by the reference to the Great Jin Dynasty. It was included in the Ming compilation of inscriptions, the *Shi mo juan hua* [Selected lapidary inscriptions] by Zhao Han (1618), and reproduced in several Qing collections, usually with a note: "not a single character can be understood" The Langjun inscription is a bilingual, and the Chinese text is explicitly stated to be a translation of the Kitan. In 1860, Wylie made a study of this inscription, giving a translation of the Chinese text. It was only after the discovery of the Kitan inscriptions in the tombs of the Liao emperors at Qingling, first published by Louis Kervyn in 1924, that scholars realized that the scripts were identical. A number of studies followed, which were

published together with rubbings, transcriptions and other related material under the title *Liaoling shike jilu* [Corpus of inscriptions from the Liao tombs] (Jin Yufu 1934). Until the 1980s, this was the basic and most important reference tool for the Kitan small script.

The *Liaoshi* refers to two Kitan scripts, the large and the small. It was not known which one was the script on the Langjun and Qingling inscriptions. Before 1950, the only known examples of Kitan were the four imperial epitaphs and the Langjun inscription, a total of about 3000 graphs. By the late 1970s, 19 texts were available, with about 10,000 graphs.

In the 1950s, the Xiao Xiaozhong inscription was discovered in a different type of Kitan script. This was similar to some earlier inscriptions in an unidentified script. In 1962, Jin Guangping published a study in which he argued that the script on the Langjun inscription and the Liao tombs was the Kitan small script, and that on the Xiao Xiaozhong inscription the Kitan large script. This is now generally accepted.

Little progress was made in the decipherment of either script until the publication of *Research on the Kitan Small Script* by Chinggeltei, Liu Fengzhu, Chen Naixiong, Yu Baolin and Xing Fuli in 1985, though the initial studies on which this book was based were published in the late 1970s. Basing themselves on the transcription of Chinese loanwords in the Kitan texts, they were able to establish readings for a number of graphs and on the basis of the values thus established to determine the pronunciation of several native Kitan words. About 25% of the graphs were given tentative readings. Practically all subsequent research has developed from this seminal work. This chapter summarizes research done prior to this publication, the methodology and major findings of *Research,* with some notes on more recent research.

1.2 Kitan words in Chinese works

Little is preserved on the language of the Kitans in Chinese works. There are about 200 words in the glossary appended to the *Liaoshi*, of which about a half are personal names and place names. Many of the rest are official titles. There are only about 40 basic words, such as *nügu* 'gold', *guwen* 'jade', *taoli* 'hare', *niehe* 'dog', *husï* 'strength' *jau* 'hundred', *ordo* 'palace' About one fifth of these words are similar to Mongol. There is some other material: the Kitan poem in the *Mengqi bitan,* the Northern poem by Yu Jing and the Kitan poem in the *Yijianzhi* by Hong Mai.

1.3 Creation of the Kitan scripts

After Yelü Abaoji established the Liao state, he turned his attention towards the creation of a written script for the Kitan language. The large script was created in 920. The script is clearly modeled on Chinese, and many graphs are the same or similar, but the principles are quite different. It is now becoming apparent that each large graph (such as 国) represented a syllable, in this case **gur*. This could write a word **gur* 'state', and could also be used in other words with the syllable **gur*. The innovation of the small script was that it wrote **gür* as 九夾 ‹g.úr›, with two symbols. 九 ‹g› could be used for any initial or final [g], and 夾 ‹úr› for any initial or final [úr]. Both scripts also had a number of logograms, which primarily stood for common words such as heaven, moon, man and the numerals, though these could also be used with their phonetic values. Chinese records state that the large script was based on the Chinese *li shu* "clerical script", but it is clearly much more similar to the Chinese calligraphic style known as *kai shu* "standard script", and the small script is similar to the cursive style known as *xing shu* "running script" The date of the creation of the smaller script is not given, but the generally accepted date is 925. This was more than a century before the earliest extant inscription, the *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao,* dated 1053.

1.4 Use of the Kitan script under the Jin

The Jurchens continued to use the Kitan scripts, even after the creation of two Jurchen scripts, the large in 1119, and the small in 1138. An edict dated 1138 ordered that Jurchen, Kitan and Chinese be used in official documents for the relevant parts of the population. More than thirty Jurchen mentioned in the *Jinshi* were familiar with the Kitan script. The Jin government assigned a number of posts to officials who were familiar with the Kitan script and language, some close to the emperor, others in the presidential council. In 1151, the staff of the Hanlin academy included seven persons familiar with the Kitan script. In 1156, it was officially ordered that in the examination for copyist in the Department of National Historiography the Jurchen copyists be able to translate Kitan into Jurchen, and the Kitan copyists Chinese into Kitan. Even the Jin emperor Shizong commented, "The new Jurchen script cannot match it" The Chinese original was first written in the Kitan small script and then annotated in or translated into the Jurchen script. This was the procedure followed by Yelü Chucai's father, Yelü Lü, when he translated the *History of the Tang Dynasty* into Kitan, using the small script. In 1191 the Jin emperor Zhangzong ordered that Jurchen should be directly translated into Chinese. Clerks of the Department

of National Historiography who knew only the Kitan script were dismissed. In 1192, the position of Kitan secretary was abolished in all ministries. Yelü Chucai (1189-1243) learned Kitan during his stay with the Karakitai and translated a Kitan poem into Chinese. The Kitan script was abolished by the Jin Emperor Zhangzong in 1191-1192. Yelü Chucai seems to be the last person mentioned in Chinese records who had a knowledge of the Kitan language and script.

1.5 The Kitan inscriptions

Most of the extant corpus consists of epitaphs for the Kitan nobility. There are many Chinese inscriptions from the Liao, some of which are connected with the Kitan texts. The earliest collection was Chen Shu 1982. More recent collections are Xiang Nan 1995 and Gai Zhiyong 2002, which also contains some photographs and hand copies of Kitan texts. For a general discussion on the Liao inscriptions, see Yang Ruowei 1993. The Chinese texts contain of a certain number of sections: the name of the Kitan state, the name and official titles of the subject of the epitaph, the name and official titles of its composer, the preface, a rhymed text and a final date.

The dates are given by reference to the reign title, followed by the year of the reign and the position in the sexagenary cycle expressed in Chinese by the ten stems and the twelve branches, and in Kitan by the five colours and the twelve animals. The preface of the inscription gives some details of the life of the person concerned: his ancestors, his wife, their children and their spouses. Then there is a poem in praise of the person's achievements. The inscription ends with the date of the person's death, and the date of the burial, followed by the name of the composer of the text. The information in the following paragraphs sets out the terms indicating the reign titles, the sexagenary stems and other information common in the epitaphs.

1.6 Name of the Liao State

The Great Kitan State was founded in 907 and was defeated by the Jurchens in 1125. The first use of the name Liao seems to have been in 947. In 983 the state changed its name back to the Great Kitan State. It is generally understood that the reason for the first change of name was the inclusion of non-Kitan nationalities in the state, and the reason for the second change of name was the reassertion of Kitan nationalism. In Chinese inscriptions it is generally referred to as *Da Liao Guo* "the Great Liao State" In the Kitan inscriptions it has a longer and more enigmatic title, incorporating between the words 'great' and 'state' a number of words which are interpreted as

meaning 'central' (though two quite different words are used at different times), a word which means Kitan and another of unknown meaning, which is perhaps the Kitan word for Liao. This term is discussed in detail in 4.58.

1.7 The Yelü clan and the Xiao clan

All the inscriptions, with the exception of those of two emperors, two empresses and the imperial uncle and his consort, are epitaphs for members of the Kitan aristocracy. Many of these have the clan name 耶律 Yelü, and were members of the clan of Abaoji, the founder of the Kitan state. Others have the clan name 蕭 Xiao, which, as the *Liaoshi* informs us, was the "consort clan" However, no one term corresponding to Xiao has yet been identified in the Kitan inscriptions. What we find are a number of clan names: the Shulü 述律, the Bali 拔里 and the Yishiji 乙室己. These were apparently merged during the course of the dynasty. Yuan historians suggested the Kitan terms for Xiao was Shimo 石抹, but this does not seem to be the case; the Kitan equivalent of Shimo was Shenmi 審密 (Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949:238), a term which occurs in the inscriptions. We also find the names of some Chinese, in particular Han Zhigu and his family, and a number of other clans. Kitan social hierarchy was complex, with senior and junior patriarchal tents, imperial maternal uncles and many combinations, for which Wittfogel and Fêng 1949 may be consulted. Many of these terms have been identified in the Kitan texts.

1.8 Names of Liao emperors

A Liao emperor was given a number of personal names and titles. Each had a personal name 名 *ming*; this was called 諱 *hui* after his death. Many had Kitan childhood names, 小名 *xiaoming*. On reaching adulthood, he would receive an adult name 字 *zi* and perhaps a literary name 號 *hao*. When ascending the throne, an emperor received an honorific title 尊號 *zunhao* and after his death, a posthumous title *shi hao* 謚號. Historically, emperors are referred to by their temple title *miaohao* 廟號, sometimes preceded by the dynastic name. In the Kitan texts, a person has a Kitan "childhood name" a "second name", and sometimes a Chinese name as well. The names and titles of the Liao emperors are as follows:

Taizu (916-926)
Taizong (939-947) (Abaoji)
Shizong (947-951)
Muzong (951-969)

Jingzong (969-979)
Shengzong (979-1031)
Xingzong (1031-1055)
Daozong (1055-1101)
Tianzuo (1101-1111)

1.9 Reign titles of Liao emperors

Generally speaking, each emperor adopted a new reign title on accession and changed the reign title several times during the rest of his reign. There were twenty-two reign titles during the Liao period; two covered the reigns of more than one emperor.

1 Shence	916-922	神冊	spirit appointment
2 Tianzan	922-926	天贊	heaven assistance
3 Tianxian	926-939	天顯	heaven manifest
4 Huitong	938-947	會同	assemble together
5 Datong	947-947	大同	great togetherness
6 Tianlu	947-951	天祿	heaven prosperity
7 Yingli	951-969	應曆	respond calendar
8 Baoning	969-979	保寧	protect tranquility
9 Qianheng	979-983	乾亨	heaven perseverance
10 Tonghe	983-1012	統和	government unity
11 Kaitai	1012-1021	開泰	open prosperity
12 Taiping	1021-1031	太平	great peace
13 Jingfu	1031-1032	景福	bright happiness
14 Chongxi	1032-1055	重熙	repeated splendour
15 Qingning	1055-1065	清寧	clear tranquility
16 Xianyong	1065-1075	咸雍	together harmony
17 Dakang	1075-1085	大康	great prosperity
18 Da'an	1085-1095	大安	great peace
19 Shouchang	1095-1101	壽昌(壽隆)	longevity prosperity
20 Qiantong	1101-1111	乾統	celestial government
21 Tianqing	1111-1121	天慶	heaven blessings
22 Baoda	1121-1125	保大	protect greatness

1.10 Reign titles of Jin emperors

23 Shou guo	1115-1118	收國	retake country
24 Tianfu	1118-1123	天輔	heaven assistance
24 Tianhui	1123-1138	天會	heaven meeting

25 Tianjuan	1138-1141	天眷	heaven favour
26 Huangtong	1141-1149	皇統	august government
27 Tiande	1149-1153	天德	heaven virtue
28 Zhenyuan	1153-1156	貞元	purity origin
29 Zhenglong	1156-1161	正隆	upright abundance
30 Dading	1161-	大定	great settlement

1.11 The ten stems and twelve branches

The Chinese designated years by a combination of the ten stems and twelve branches. The ten stems were: 甲 *jia* 乙 *yi* 丙 *bing* 丁 *ding* 戊 *wu* 己 *ji* 庚 *geng* 辛 *xin* 壬 *ren* 癸 *gui*. The twelve branches were 子 *zi* 丑 *chou* 寅 *yin* 卯 *mao* 辰 *chen* 巳 *si* 午 *wu* 未 *wei* 申 *shen* 酉 *you* 戌 *xu* and 亥 *hai*. These were combined to form a cycle of sixty years.

1.12 The five colours or the five elements

The ten stems of Chinese are represented by five symbols in Kitan. Turkic used words from Chinese: *qap, ir, pi, ti, bou, ku, qï, sim/sin, žim, äžim, kui.* In Tibetan, the ten stems correspond to the five elements: wood, fire, earth, metal, water. In Mongol and Manchu, the ten stems are expressed by the five colours, with modifications for the second of each pair. It is not known if the Kitan terms refer to colours, elements or something else, as they are not related to terms in other known languages. General opinion is tending towards regarding them as meaning the five colours. They come in two forms: with added dots for 'yellow' and 'white', with different suffixes (qu/qú, u/iú) for the others. These may represent the second of the pair, but analysis does not support this theory. It may reflect original usage, later blurred because the distinction, real in Chinese, was artificial in Kitan. Or it may refer to grammatical gender. The Kitan forms of these words are discussed under the relevant entries in Chapter Three.

1.13 Cyclical stems; the five elements; the five colours

Cyclical stems	Five elements	Five colours	Mongol	Manchu
甲乙 jia yi	木 mu wood	blue	küke kükekcin	niowanggiyan niohon
丙丁 bing ding	火 huo fire	red	ulaγan ulaqcin	fulgiyan folahon
戊己 wu ji	土 tu earth	yellow	šira širaqcin	suwayan sohon

庚辛 geng xin	金 jin metal	white	caɣan caɣaqcin	šanyan šahon
壬癸 ren gui	水 shui water	black	qara qaraqcin	sahaliyan sahahon

1.14 The twelve animals

The Turks, Mongols and Manchus used twelve animals to designate years, corresponding to the twelve branches of the Chinese calendar. The correspondences are:

Chinese	Cyclical Branch	Mongol	Manchu	Old Turkish
鼠 rat	子 zi	quluqana	singgeri	sïčɣan/küskü
牛 ox	丑 chou	üker	ihan	ud
虎 tiger	寅 yin	bars	tasha	bars
兔 rabbit	卯 mao	taulai	gûlmahûn	tawïšɣan
龍 dragon	辰 chen	luu	muduri	luu
蛇 snake	巳 si	moɣai	meihe	yïlan
馬 horse	午 wu	morin	morin	yunt
羊 sheep	未 wei	qonin	honin	qoɣn
猴 monkey	申 shen	bečin	bonio	bičin
雞 chicken	酉 you	takiya	coko<Ju. tiko	taqïqu
狗 dog	戌 xu	noqai	indahûn	it
豬 pig	亥 hai	ɣaqai	ulgiyan	laɣzïn/toŋuz

Further discussion on these terms in Kitan can be found in the English-Kitan Glossary in Chapter 3. Both the small script forms and the large script forms can be found in tabular form in Chapter Five.

1.15 Sources

The following inscriptions form the extant corpus of material in the Kitan small script. They are referred to by their conventional abbreviations. For details on their excavation, current location and publication details see Liu Fengzhu 1999.

(1) Bozhou 博州. *Jindai Bozhou fangyushi muzhi.* 金代博州防禦使墓誌. *Epitaph of the Defense Commissioner of Bozhou of the Jin Dynasty.* Dated

1170. This is the latest inscription found, written only 20 years before the formal abolition of the Kitan script in 1191.

(2) Cite 慈特. *Yelü Cite muzhi.* 耶律慈特墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Cite.* Dated 1082. 28 lines, 885 words.

(3) Daozong 道宗. *Daozong huangdi aice.* 道宗皇帝哀冊. *Eulogy for the Emperor Daozong.* Dated 1101. Excavated by 湯佐榮 Tang Zuorong, the son of the Governor of Rehe 湯玉麟 Tang Yulin, in 1930 from the Yongxing Tomb in modern Balin Right Banner of Inner Mongolia. 37 lines, of which 9 were reinscribed, 1134 words.

(4) Dilie 迪烈. *Yelü Dilie muzhiming.* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie.* Dated 1092. 41 lines, 1740 words.

(5) Fushu 副署. *Yelü fushu muzhming.* 耶律副署墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Deputy Director Yelü.* Dated 1102. Discovered 1996 in the tombs of Yelü Qi family in Alukerqin Banner. 51 lines, 2000 words.

(6) Gaoshi 高十. *Yelü (Han) Gaoshi muzhi.* 耶律(韓) 高十墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Gaoshi.* Discovered 1995. Date unknown. Balin Right Banner, in the Han Kuangci family tombs. 51 lines of text; lower half of inscription is missing.

(7) Gu 故. *Gu Yelü shi mingshi.* 故耶律氏銘石. *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü.* Dated 1115. 25 lines, 699 words. Discovered 1969 in Ongniut Banner, Inner Mongolia.

(8) Gui 貴. *Yelü Gui muzhiming* 耶律貴墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Gui.* Dated 1102. Excavated Balin Right Banner. 31 lines, 1100 words.

(9) Haitang 海棠. *Haitangshan muzhi canshi.* 海棠山墓誌殘石. *Damaged epitaph found near Haitangshan.* Discovered in Fuxin, Liaoning province, 1991. Year of inscription unknown. 13 lines, about 300 words.

(10) Han Dilie 韓敵烈. *Han Dilie muzhiming.* 韓敵烈墓誌銘. Also known as *Yelü Dilie muzhiming* 耶律敵烈墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Dilie.* Dated 1101. 34 lines, 1350 graphs. Discovered 1996.

(11) Hongyong 弘用. *Yelü Hongyong muzhiming.* 耶律弘用墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Hongyong.* Dated 1100. Discovered 1996. Also known as the *Wurigentala Inscription* or *Epitaph of Yelü Hongbian.* 32 lines, 847 graphs.

(12) Langjun 郎君. *Da Jin huang di dutong jinglüe langjun xingji.* 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記. *Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty.* Also known as the *Langjun xingji* 郎君行記. Dated 1134 (Jin dynasty). Engraved on a stele in front of the tomb of Empress Wu of the Tang in Qian county, near Xi'an. The only extant Kitan-Chinese bilingual. The Kitan text has 5 lines with 97 words; the Chinese text has 6 lines with 108 characters.

(13) Liangguo 梁國. *Liangguo taifei muzhi.* 梁國太妃墓誌. *Epitaph of the Imperial Consort of the State of Liang.* Discovered in 2001 in Fuxin, Liaoning.

(14) Linggong 令公. *Xiao Linggong muzhi canshi.* 蕭令公墓誌殘石 *Damaged epitaph of Xiao Linggong.* Dated 1057. Discovered 1950 in Fuxin, Liaoning.

(15) Nu 奴. *Yelü Nu muzhiming.* 耶律奴墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Nu.* Dated 1099. Discovered 1999. 48 lines, 1274 words.

(16) Renxian 仁先. *Yelü Renxian muzhiming.* 耶律仁先墓. *Epitaph of Yelü Renxian.* Dated 1072. Discovered 1983. 70 lines, more than 5,100 words.

(17) Renyi 仁懿. *Renyi huanghou aice.* 仁懿皇后哀冊. *Eulogy for Empress Renyi.* Dated 1076. Discovered 1922. Along with the Xingzong inscription, the earliest tomb inscription to be found in modern times. 32 lines. The original stele is still in the Yongxing tomb.

(18) Shilu 實魯. *Shilu taishi muzhi bei.* 實魯太師墓誌碑. *Epitaph of Shilu taishi.* Dated 1100.

(19) Songwei 宋魏. *Song Wei Guo fei muzhiming.* 宋魏國妃墓誌銘. *Epitaph of the Imperial Consort of the States of Song and Wei.* Dated 1110. 24 lines, 642 words.

(20) Taishuzu 太叔祖. *Huang taishuzu aice.* 皇太叔祖哀冊. *Eulogy for the Imperial Grand Uncle.* Dated 1110. Discovered 1997. 25 lines, 807 words.

(21) Hanshi 韓氏. *Xiao Temei - Guoge fuma di'er furen Han shi muzhiming.* 蕭特每-闊哥駙馬第二夫人韓氏墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Mme. Han, second wife of the imperial son-in-law Xiao Temei-Kuoge.* 1078. Date and place of excavation not known. 35 lines, 814 words. Unpublished.

(22) Tuguci 圖古辭. *Xiao Tuguci muzhiming.* 蕭圖古辭墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Xiao Tuguci.* Dated 1068. Discovered 2000, Fuxin, Liaoning. 26 lines, 739 words.

(23) Xingzong 興宗. *Xingzong huangdi aice.* 興宗皇帝哀冊. *Eulogy for Emperor Xingzong.* Dated 1055. Only a handwritten copy is available. 36 lines, 861 words. The original stele is still in the Yongxing tomb.

(24) Xu 許. *Xuwang muzhi.* 許王墓誌. *Epitaph of Prince Xu.* Dated 1109. Discovered 1975 in Fuxin, Liaoning. Published 1977. 64 lines, 2157 words. 5 lines of Chinese text.

(25) Xuanyi 宣懿. *Xuanyi huanghou aice.* 宣懿皇后哀冊. *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi.* Dated 1101. Excavated 1930 from the Yongfu tomb. 30 lines, 620 words.

(26) Yelü Langjun 耶律郎君 *Yelü Langjun canshi.* 耶律郎君殘石 *Damaged epitaph of Prince Yelü.* Dated 1085-1087. Discovered 1995. The upper right corner with the owner's name has been broken. 26 lines.

(27) Yongning 永寧. *Yelü Yongning langjun muzhiming* 耶律永寧郎君墓誌銘殘石. *Epitaph of Prince Yelü Yongning.* Dated 1088. Discovered 1995. 43 lines, 1041 words.

(28) Yongqing 永清. *Yongqing gongzhu muzhi.* 永清公主墓誌. *Epitaph of Princess Yongqing.* Also known as 蕭大山和永清公主墓誌 *Xiao Dashan he Yongning gongzhu muzhi. Epitaph of Xiao Dashan and Princess Yongqing.* Discovered 2003. 32 lines, 1373 words.

(29) Zezhou 澤州. *Zezhou cishi muzhi.* 澤州刺史墓誌. *Epitaph of the Prefect of Zezhou.* Also known as 涿州刺史墓誌 *Zhuozhou cishi muzhi.* Dated 1108. Discovered 1994.

(30) Zhixian 智先. *Yelü Zhixian muzhiming.* 耶律智先墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian.* Dated 1094. 27 lines, 1081 graphs.

(31) Zhonggong 仲公. *Xiao Zhonggong muzhi.* 蕭仲公墓志. *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong.* Dated 1150. Discovered 1942, published 1973. 50 lines, 2492 words.

(32) Zongjiao 宗教. *Yelü Zongjiao muzhiming.* 耶律宗教墓志銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao.* Dated 1053. Discovered 1991. The earliest inscription in the small script discovered so far.

1.16 Early Chinese research

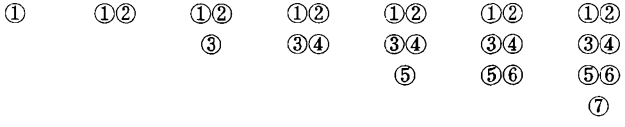
The Qingling Kitan epitaphs were accompanied by inscriptions in Chinese, but it soon became clear that the texts were not bilinguals. Nevertheless, early researchers were able to compare sections of text in both languages, determining some names, cyclical terms, numerals and placenames, sometimes correctly, sometimes not.

The small Kitan script looks similar to the Chinese "running script" There is also a "seal script" variety used on the canopies of the inscriptions, for example that of the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*:

Here we have sixteen graphs set in a square in groups of four. These corresponded to the "running script" forms 伞奴虫 兴兴 六券 丙公 几相叉 本余 点火. In the main text, these elements were linked together. This suggested that Kitan words, written *en bloc*, were made up of discrete graphs. This led to the insight that the script was phonetic, or at least partially phonetic.

1.17 Arrangement of the small graphs to form words

In the inscriptions the graphs are linked together rather like Korean *hangul* and written from top to bottom, left to right.



The combined graphs (words) are written down the page, from top to bottom, right to left, like Chinese.

Luo Fucheng (1933, 1934) was able to determine all the numerals except 'five' and 'nine', all the heavenly stems except *ding*, *wu* and *gui*, and all the earthly branches except *shen* and *hai.* He also deciphered the reign titles *Shouchang, Dakang, Qiantong, Chongxi* and *Qingning*, and the names of the emperors Daozong and Xingzong. Most of these are now generally accepted.

Wang Jingru 1933 is a comparison of the Daozong and Xuanyi epitaphs and of the Xingzong and Renyi epitaphs, which were excavated in 1930. Wang listed 72 Kitan words, the highest number of correct interpretations of that period. Luo Fucheng 1934 is a collection of all inscriptions known at that time, several studies by Japanese and Chinese scholars, and a translation of Kervyn's report of his initial discovery. In his preface, Jin Yufu reviewed the discovery of the Qingling tombs, the account in the *Liaoshi* as to how the Kitan scripts were invented, and other historical material on Kitan. He concluded that the characters in the imperial epitaphs were the "small script", and noted that this was still being used well into the Jin dynasty, even after the creation of the Jurchen script. He suggested that Mongol was the key to understanding Kitan.

There were few developments until the discovery of the *Epitaph of Xiao Linggong* (Li Wenxin 1954; Li Dingkui 1954). Li Dingkui noted that 公布矣 丑几当 月分 corresponded to Chinese 墓誌銘 *muzhiming* 'epitaph, inscription on a tombstone' He suggested that 叔金 雨仝 冈为本 corresponded to 奉敕撰 *feng chi zhuan* 'composed by imperial edict' He also noted that the same Kitan graph was used for both the first and second of the ten stems, *jia* and *yi,* and another graph was used for both the third and fourth of the ten stems, *geng* and *xin.* He thought the traditional correspondences between *jia* ~ *yi* and 'wood', and *geng* ~ *xin* and 'metal' meant that the Kitan graphs might mean 'wood' and 'metal' respectively, and that the ten stems were related to the traditional five elements (wood, metal, water, fire, earth). This was later to be known as "the five element theory". In a later article, Li Dingkui 1957 suggested that 主王 'emperor' and 主介 'empress' were not Turkic words like *khan* and *qatun* but were loanwords from Chinese 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor' and 皇后 *huanghou* 'empress'

In 1973 the *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong* was discovered (Zheng Shaozong 1973; Wang Jingru 1973). Zheng Shaozong was able to confirm Li Dingkui's proposal that 公布矣 means 'tomb' (actually 'on the tomb'- 矣 is a locative suffix) and that 丑几当 means 'recorded' From the dates he was able to determine the numerals 'five' and 'nine', thus completing the list of all the numbers from one to ten. Wang Jingru 1973 confirmed the Kitan forms of the reign titles Da'an and Tiande, recognised three new reign titles:

Tianfu, Huangtong and Tianjuan. He concluded that 今丙爻 and 釜丙爻 are variants; both mean the reign title Tianhui; 今金万爻 and 釜金万爻 are the same; both mean the reign title Tianjuan. He thought that perhaps 今 was a cursive form of 釜.

1.18 Japanese research

Japanese scholars such as Shiratori Kurakichi and Haneda Toru showed an interest in Kitan quite early, but the first to deal with the Kitan script as such were Yamaji Hiroaki, Murayama Shichirō, Osada Natsuki and Otagi Matsuo. Yamaji 1956 argued that the Kitan characters, large and small, as well as the Jurchen script, could all be derived from Chinese characters through a series of stages. He distinguished ten ways of deriving characters: 丰 'year' is derived from Chinese 年 'year'; 乡 'heaven, sky' is from Chinese 天 'heaven, sky' These are possibly correct. But he extended the principle to derive 夾 from Chinese 安 'peace', which is not correct. Yamaji suggested readings for about 70 Kitan graphs, of which about 10 are correct. Murayama Shichirō worked on the basis that the Kitan script was derived from the Old Turkic runiform script. 矛, for example, looks like the Old Turkic letter 𐰴, which is Turkic ‹d[1]›. On the basis of such perceived similarities, 世表矛 ‹mu.u.ji› 'sacred, holy, pertaining to the emperor 聖' was read **bogda,* cf. Mo. *bogda* 'sacred' Murayama assumed the underlying language was Mongol, and that the script was derived from Turkic runiform.

Osada 1951 also attempted to identify the underlying language by comparing 31 Kitan words in Chinese transcription from the *Liaoshi* and other sources. He concluded that Kitan was unlike Mongol in many ways; it was more similar to Daur. He distinguished 327 elements in the script, which he divided these into logographs and phonetic symbols. There were 200 phonetic graphs, of 49 were of high frequency. The most common graphs initially were 伞 ‹s› (39 times) and 今 ‹t› (37 times). Medially, the most common graphs were 艹 ‹l› (39 times) and 为 ‹a› (37 times). In final position the most common graphs were 与 ‹én› (33 times) and 及 ‹ún› (30 times). On the basis of these statistics, he concluded that 今 ‹t› 戈 ‹ś› and 止 ‹p› must be vowels. Zheng Shaozong 1957 analysed the composition of Kitan words into their component elements, and derived 402 separate graphs.

Otagi 1956 also presumed that the language underlying the Kitan script was some sort of Mongol. From an analysis of twelve dates in Kitan and Chinese, he identified the basic numerals, the stems and branches, some official titles and some other words. He identified the numerals 弋 'one' 圣 'two' 包 'three' 罒 'four' 戈 'five' 亦 'six' 尸 'seven' 巫 'eight' 乡 (=赤) 'nine' 乞 'ten' and 丁 'twenty', but his suggested readings were based on Mongol

and lacked evidence. In more recent years the most insightful researcher has been Toyodo Gorō, whose contributions will be discussed later in this chapter.

1.19 Russian and other research

Rudov 1963 was also a study of the Kitan words in the *Liaoshi*. He found about 30, from more than 200, words similar to Mongol. He thought the Kitan script was a "special syllabic script", in which sometimes a graph could sometimes represent a syllable, sometimes a whole word. He thought that the first words of the Langjun inscription 𘮩 𘮬 𘮭𘮮 𘮯𘮰𘮱 ‹GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an› 'of the khan of the Great Jin State' corresponded to 大金皇弟 *Da Jin huang di* 'younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin dynasty' So he concluded 𘮭𘮮 ‹g.úr:en› 'of the state' meant 'emperor', and 𘮯𘮰𘮱 ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan' meant 'younger brother' Proceeding from this, he suggested readings for a dozen or so graphs, with little success. Šavkunov 1963 compared several texts in Kitan with the Jurchen inscription at Nurgan, and concluded that the Langjun inscription was possibly in Jurchen, written in the Kitan script. Taskin 1963 also presumed that Kitan is a branch of Mongolic, and that the Kitan script is syllabic. He noticed that 𘮩 𘮲𘮳𘮴 𘮵𘮶𘮷 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rả qid.ún.i› on the canopy of the Daozong inscription, and 𘮲𘮳𘮴 𘮸𘮹 ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› 'mid winter' in the Langjun inscription both contain the word 𘮲𘮳𘮴 ‹dau.úr.ún›. He translated 𘮩 𘮲𘮳𘮴 𘮵𘮶𘮷 𘮻 [=𘮻]𘮴𘮼 'Great Central Liao Kitan [State]' as 'The Great Kitan State Son of Heaven'

Hambis 1963 is a report on the research findings of Luo Fucheng, with some comments on possible cognates. Starikov and Nadelyaev 1964 was a statistical analysis of the graphs. The Kitan texts were coded, each graph being given a number, and the corpus transcribed in an attempt to perceive underlying morphological patterns. So line 4 of the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi* 𘮩 𘮺𘮻𘮼 𘮽𘮾 𘮿 𘯀𘯁𘯂 𘯃𘯄𘯅𘯆 𘯇𘯈𘯉𘯊 𘯋 𘯌 𘯍 𘯎 𘯏𘯐𘯑 𘯒𘯓𘯔𘯕 𘯖 𘯗 𘯘 𘯙𘯚𘯛 is transcribed 222 090-142-156 256-310 080 080-119 074-066-144 074-066-144 074-166-223 237-191-177 350 248 228 087 003-177 242-066-084 240 184 204 090-178-177. Starikov 1982, Arapov 1982 and Probst et al. 1986 are along the same lines.

1.20 The Kitan Small Script Research Group

Earlier research is now mainly of historical interest, though some important discoveries were made. The Kitan Small Script Research Group formed during the late 1970s, with Chinggeltei and Chen Naixiong at the University

of Inner Mongolia, and Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin at the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. Their research was based on the material available at that time: the Langjun inscription, the four imperial eulogies, and another four inscriptions excavated during the 1950s and 1960s. Using the conventional abbreviations, the texts were Langjun, Renyi, Daozong, Xuanyi, Xingzong, Xu, Linggong, Zhonggong and Gu. The results of their research were first published in 1977, which together with concordances, bibliographies and other studies, culminated in the monograph *Research on the Kitan Small Script* in 1985. This book is referred to hereafter as *Research*.

The first step was to identify place names, personal names, reign titles, dates, numerals, cyclical terms, places and official ranks in Kitan and Chinese. The Langjun inscription begins "the younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin" (大金皇弟) and lists his titles: 都統 *dutong* 'campaign commander', 經略 *jinglüe* 'military commissioner' and 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant' If the Kitan word for 'emperor' was borrowed from Chinese, as several scholars had suggested, the equivalent of 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor' should be found near the beginning of the inscription. Previous research had suggested that 主 𠆢 corresponded to 皇后 *huanghou* 'empress' and 主 罢 𠆢 to 皇太后 *huangtaihou* 'empress dowager' So 主 might correspond to 皇 *huang*. The last word in the Kitan version of the Langjun, Gu and Zhong inscriptions is 𘤀𘥂 ‹c.er›. The Chinese version of Langjun indicates these two graphs must mean 'written by, 題' The words before 𘤀𘥂 ‹c.er› 'written by' should be a title or a personal name. The Chinese text gives the names of the writers of the inscription as 王圭 Wang Gui and 黃應期 Huang Yingqi. If 主 is *huang*, one of the names in front of 𘤀𘥂 ‹ci.er› 'written by', 主 𘠽 乂𘥂, might be the Kitan transcription of Huang Yingqi. Huang's official title was 尚書職方郎中 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 'director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat' The first, fourth and fifth characters end in *-ang*. Above Huang's name we find the Kitan words 𘤀𐰀 𐰋𘥂 𐰴 𐰀 𘦳𘤀 𐰋𘤀 ‹c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› where 𐰀 ‹aŋ› occurs twice, corresponding to the final in the Chinese words 尚 *shang* and 郎 *lang*. It did not transcribe 方 *fang*, because in Liao Chinese 方 was probably pronounced **foŋ*. The other name, 𘦳 𐰋𘥂 ‹oŋ g.ui› must be Wang Gui.

Determination of these graphs led to others. 𘦳𘠽 𐰋𘤀 ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ›, in Xu 7 and Xu 8, is a common title: 令公 *linggong* 'lord' 𐰋太 𐰴𘥂 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› is Chinese 公主 *gongzhu* 'princess' A place name in the Langjun inscription, 唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* 'the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty' could then identified in the Kitan version. 𐰀 ‹aŋ›, 𘦳 ‹l› and 𘠽 ‹iŋ› were known, so Tang Qianling was written 𐰚𐰀𘤊 𐰉方 𘦳𘠽 ‹ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ›. 𘤊 ‹en› is a genitive ending.

 ‹g.iŋ l.iau› must be a transcription of 經略 *jinglüe*. Wang Jingru had shown that ‹x.iŋ s.úŋ› was the Kitan transcription of the name of the emperor Xingzong, and ‹dau.u s.úŋ› the emperor Daozong. So ‹g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di› must have been a transcription of *Jingzong huangdi* 'the emperor Jingzong'

On the right hand side of Xu there are five lines of Chinese, which contain the word 留守 *liushou* 'regent, viceroy' In the Kitan text we find ‹l.iu ś.eu›, giving 丙 ‹iu› and ‹eu›. Xu also contains an official title: 開府儀同三司 *kaifu yitong sansi* 'commander unequalled in honour' This corresponds to ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.úŋ s.a.am ss› in the Kitan inscription. ‹ŋ.i› is the transcription 儀 *yi*, from which we may presume an initial [ŋ] in Liao Chinese. ‹s.a.am› is a transcription of 三 *san,* indicating a final *-m* in Liao Chinese. We also find the term 尚父 混 corresponding to Kitan ‹ś.aŋ pu hu.un›. So we can deduce that ‹hu.un tu.uŋ g.ün oŋ› transcribes 混同郡王 *hun tong jun wang*.

Similarly, ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› occurs in Xu 13. ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú› is a transcription of 同中書 *tongzhongshu*. The chapter on official titles in the *Liaoshi* lists the title 同中書門下平章事 *tongzhongshu menxia pingzhangshi*, which must correspond to this.

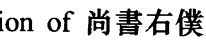
‹ś.iú m.i pu sh› in Xu 12 must be a transcription of 樞密副使 *shumi fushi* 'deputy military affairs commissioner' Ling 3 ‹tai sh› must be a transcription of 太師 *taishi* 'grand preceptor' In Dao 2, ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.uŋ l.uh da.ai pu› is a transcription of 銀青崇祿大夫 *yinqing chonglu dafu* 'grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon' ‹g.ui z.ï z.i s.iu› must be 國子祭酒 *guozi jijiu* 'chancellor of the directorate of education'

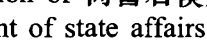
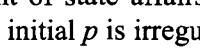
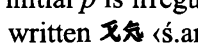
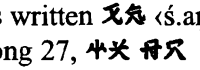
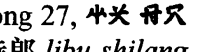
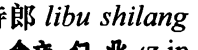
is used to transcribe [s] in ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam* 'three', [ts] in ‹z.úŋ› 宗 **zung* 'ancestor' and [tsh] in ‹s.iŋ› 青 **cing* 'blue', suggesting that Kitan phonology did not distinguish [s], [ts] and [tsh].

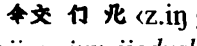
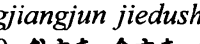
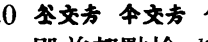
In Gu 2, 大 in 崇祿大夫 *chonglu daifu* is written rather than ‹da.ai›, suggesting that and ‹da› are probably allographs. In the same inscription 金紫 is transcribed ‹gi.m z.ï›, showing 金 'gold' had a final *m* in Liao Chinese.

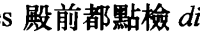
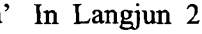
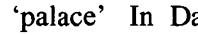
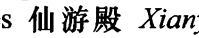
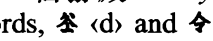
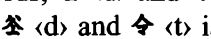
The Kitan transcription of the Jin title 銀青光祿大夫 *yinqing guanglu daifu* appears in Zhong 21: ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu›. is ‹oŋ› rather than **uaŋ* because it is followed by the genitive suffix ‹on›, not ‹an›. ‹lu› is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰 *chen,* which corresponds to the zodiac animal 'dragon', MMo. *luu.* Both the

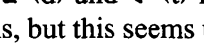
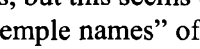
MMo. and Kitan words are derived from Tu. *luu* and presumably ultimately from a dialect form of Ch. 龍 *long* 'dragon'

 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie› in Gu 2 must be a transcription of 尚書右僕射 *shangshu you puye* 'left vice director of the department of state affairs' The word 僕 was *buk* in Middle Chinese, the Mandarin initial *p* is irregular. In Langjun is transcribed ‹c.aŋ›, in Xu it is written ‹ś.aŋ› and in Gu it is written ‹ca.aŋ›.

In Zhong 27,  ‹l.i b.û sh.ĭ l.aŋ› should be a transcription of 禮部侍郎 *libu shilang* 'vice director of the ministry of rites'. Xu 11  ‹z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün z.ie du sh› is a transcription of 靜江軍節度使 *Jingjiangjun jiedushi* 'military commissioner of the Jingjiang army' Zhong 20  ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› transcribes 殿前都點檢 *dianqian du dianjian* 'chief inspector of the palace command' In Langjun 2,  ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› transcribes 宮殿 *gongdian* 'palace' In Dao 6,  ‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên› transcribes 仙游殿 *Xianyoudian* 'Hall of the Wandering Immortals' In many words,  ‹d› and ‹t› appear to be interchangeable. The difference between ‹d› and ‹t› is not known. Wang Jingru thought they might be allographs, but this seems unlikely.

The "temple names" of emperors contain either 祖 *zu* or 宗 *zong*. Gu 4  ‹tai z.ú śi.ŋ ŋ.y.n hoŋ di› is a transcription of *tai zu sheng yuan huang di* 太祖聖元皇帝, the temple name of Abaoji. In Gu 4,  ‹i.i z.ú hoŋ di› is a transcription of 懿祖皇帝 Yizu huangdi, the temple name of Abaoji's great grandfather. In Gu 5,  ‹d.ei z.ú hoŋ di› transcribes 德祖皇帝 Dezu huangdi, the temple name of Abaoji's father.

 ‹pu› transcribes *fu* in 父, 府, 副, 夫 and 傅. It seems likely that was meant to write Kitan [pu] but also used to write Chinese [fu]. The modified was presumably devised for Chinese, but the distinction became blurred, especially if the Kitans pronounced Chinese [fu] as [pu]. Zhong 8  ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› must be a transcription of 輔國上將軍 *fuguo shang jiang jun* 'bulwark generalissimo of the state' In Langjun 1,  ‹l.iáŋ ś.a.an› transcribes 梁山 Liangshan. Xu 12  ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› is 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwuwei shang jiangjun* 'generalissimo of the imperial insignia guard' Zhonggong 21  ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün oŋ› transcribes 蘭陵郡王 *Lanlingjun wang* 'prince of Lanling prefecture' In Xu 9, Lanlingjun is written  ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün›, confirming is an allograph of ‹an›.

Xu 6  ‹a.an g.ui g.ün› is 安國軍 *anguojun* 'pacification army' Zhong 19  ‹b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iaŋ g.ün› is 驃騎大將軍 *biaoji da jiangjun* 'cavalry general'. Zhonggong 20

𘤀𘤁 𘤂𘤃 ‹z.o gi.m ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ› transcribes 左金衛上將 *zuo jinwei shang jiang* 'left gold senior general of the imperial insignia guard'. Zhonggong 20 𘤄𘤅 𘤆 𘤇 𘤀𘤁 𘤈𘤉 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün› is a transcription of 龍虎衛上將軍 *longhuwei shang jiangjun* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guard'

Zhong 22 𘤊𘤋 𘤌 𘤍𘤎 𘤀𘤁 𘤀𘤏𘤐 𘤑𘤒 𘤓𘤔 𘤂𘤃 ‹xa.áŋ tai ca.aŋ ś.iú ś.iáŋ:en s.o ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› transcribes 行台尚書省左丞相 *xingtai shang shu zuo chengxiang* is 'left prime minister of the department of state affairs' 𘤍𘤎 𘤀𘤁 𘤕𘤖𘤗 𘤓𘤔 𘤂𘤃 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› is 尚書左丞相 *shangshu you chengxiang* 'right prime minister of state affairs'. 𘤘 ‹ss› transcribes 司 *sï* in 開府儀同三司 **kaifu yitong sansi;* 𘤀𘤐 𘤓𘤔𘤙 𘤘 𘤚 ‹ś.en c.eu:un ss sh› transcribes 沈州刺史 *Shenzhou cishi* 'prefect of Shenzhou' This again indicates that Kitan did not distinguish Chinese [s] and [tsh].

Gu 2 𘤂𘤛 𘤀𘤁 𘤜𘤝 𘤞𘤟 𘤠𘤡 𘤢𘤣 ‹s.i ś.ui ki.ên g.ui b.ah› is 漆水縣開國伯 *Qishuixian kaiguobo* 'dynasty founding earl of Qishui county' Zhonggong 19 𘤂𘤥𘤦 𘤞𘤀𘤐 𘤧𘤨 ‹s.y.iên x.ui □.n› is the equivalent of 宣徽 *Xuanhuiyuan* 'court ceremonial institute' The reading of 𘤧 is problematic. See 2.102. In the transcription of 開府儀同三司 *kaifu yitong sansi*, 開 *kai* is transcribed 𘤩𘤪 ‹k.ai›, but in 開國伯 *kaiguobo* it is written 𘤞𘤪 ‹x.ai›. In Zhong 5 守司空 *shou sikong* is transcribed 𘤀𘤫 𘤘 𘤞𘤬 ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ›, again using 𘤞 ‹x› for Chinese [kh].

Xu 12 𘤀𘤁 𘤭𘤂 𘤮𘤨 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n› is a transcription of 樞蜜院 *shumiyuan* 'bureau of military affairs' Xu 49 𘤍𘤎 𘤨𘤯 𘤊𘤋𘤬𘤁 𘤰 𘤱𘤏 𘤀𘤁 ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ:un pu b.u ś.iú› transcribes 長寧宮副部署 *Changninggong fu bushu* 'deputy administrator of the Changning palace' 𘤲𘤥𘤦 𘤀𘤳 𘤰𘤁 ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.oi pu› in Zhong 18 is 元帥府 *yuan shuai fu* 'headquarters of a marshal' Dao 2 𘤴𘤏 𘤊𘤵 𘤆𘤂 ‹w.u g.î úi.i› is a transcription of 武騎尉 *wujiwei* 'commandant of military cavalry' 騎 is transcribed 𘤊𘤂𘤂 ‹g.i.i› above but 𘤊𘤵 ‹g.î› here, showing 𘤵 ‹î› = 𘤂𘤂 ‹i.i›.

1.21 Research on Kitan words in Chinese sources

There have been several studies on the Kitan words in the glossary appended to the *Liaoshi* and some Song travel memoirs, notably Franke 1969, 1976 and 1982, Vovin 2003 and Shimunek 2007. Not long after the discovery of the Qingling inscriptions, Luo Fucheng identified 叵 **po* with 𘤷 ‹po› time', 陶里 **tauli* with 𘤸𘤹𘤺 ‹tau.lí.a› 'rabbit' (the cyclical branch 卯) and 捏褐 [niehe < neho] with 𘤻 ‹ńi.qo› 'dog' (the cyclical branch 戌). Zheng Shaozong identified 𘤸 ‹tau› as 'five' (討 **tau*). They were also discussed *passim* in Wittfogel and Fêng 1949. These words are not dealt with in this book, unless they can be identified with actual Kitan words in the Kitan texts.

In the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*, 𘍞𘓱𘓐 𘓱𘓱 𘐢𘐣 𘐣 corresponds to 宣懿太后 *Xuanyi taihou* 'the empress Xuanyi' Clearly 𘐢𘐣 𘐣 corresponds to 'empress' The *Liaoshi* glossary explains the word 耨斡么 **nou'emo* as 后土 *houtu* 'deity of the earth' and 母 *mu* 'mother' Cf. *Liaoshi* 71: "The Liao, following the Turks, called their empress 可敦 *kedun* (= *qatun*). In their national language they called her 腻俚謇 *telijian* (= **terigen*). The term of respect was 耨斡么 **neu'omo*, because it was said that she was 'the empress of the earth". In Chinese inscriptions, it is common to see 天 *tian* 'heaven' contrasted to 地 *di* 'earth'. In the Kitan inscriptions, too, 𗼇 'heaven' is found in contrast with 𘐢𘐣 'earth' Shen Hui 1980 observed that the words in the Daozong epitaph 𗼇 𗰗 𘐢𘐣 𘐠 must correspond to Chinese 天長地久 'heaven is eternal and earth is forever'

In a series of articles (1983b, 1989a, 1993c, 1995) Liu Fengzhu made a number of important discoveries. In *Xuanyi* 19, for example, we read the following rhymed lines:

𘍽𘐤 𘍽𘐤 𘐢𘐣 𘐠𘐠	ủ.bo ủ.bo neu.e as.ar
𘐢𘐣𘐠 𘐢𘐣𘐠 𗼇 𘐤	g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn ỏ ho
𘐤𘐠 𘐢𘐣 𘐢𘐣 𘐠𘐣	ho.ci m.in.is g.u tau.lí.a
𗰗 𘍞 𘓱 𘓐 𘐤𘐣	giủ doro.i nigu hu.ho

𘐠𘐣 ‹tau.lí.a› means 'hare' The *Liaoshi* glossary tells us the word for 'jade' was 孤穩 *guwen* = **gu'un*. This corresponds to 𘐢𘐣 ‹g.u›. So 𘐢𘐣 𘐠𘐣 ‹g.u tau.lí.a› means 'jade hare', a poetic term for 'moon' The corresponding term for 'sun' is 金烏 *jin niao* 'golden bird' 𘓐 is used in the Langjun inscription in the formal title of the Jin dynasty. 𘓐 is an allograph of 𘓐 used with masculine nouns. The word following 𘓐, 𘐤𘐤 ‹hu.ho› should be 'bird', cf. Ju. 'crow' **gaha.* 𘍞 is a logograph meaning variously 'ceremony', 'ritual' or 'seal' It was probably pronounced **doro.* 𘓐 is a logograph transcribed GOLD♂, used with nouns of masculine gender. The word 'gold' was pronounced something like **nigu.* See 2.285.

On the canopy of the *Epitaph of the Prince of Xu*, we read: 𘐣𘓱𘐤 𘐠𘐤𘐣 𘐢𘐣 𘐢𘐣 𘐢𘐣 𘐢𘐣 𘐢𘐣 𘐢𘐣 ‹da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY 292.o ś.eu.kả on.a.án› corresponding to 掩閉日甘露絳 *yanbi ri gan lu jiang* 'on the day of the covering, sweet dew descended' From which we can deduce 𘐣𘓱𘐤 𘐠𘐤𘐣 ‹da.ha.ar o.ju.hu› means 'to cover [the coffin]', 𘐢𘐣 𘐢𘐣 ‹292.o ś.eu.kả› means 'sweet dew' and 𘐢𘐣 ‹on.a.án› is a past tense: 'descended, came down, fell'.

In the *Eulogy for Emperor Daozong,* in 徙殯於仙游殿之西階 *xi bin yu Xianyoudian zhi xi jie* 'it was transferred for burial to the steps at the west of the Xianyoudian', 徙 corresponds to 𘍞𘟥𘆕𘈩𘈾 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei›. This is ‹x.ui› 'to come' with a causative suffix followed by a converb suffix. The word following 𘍞𘟥𘆕𘈩𘈾 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei›, namely 𘐾𘐣𘇼𘐴 ‹kė.d.ha.ai›, must mean 殯 *bin* 'to bury', with a converb suffix. This word is also in *Renyi* 13, and likewise corresponds to 殯 *bin* in the Chinese inscription.

In the eulogies for Renyi, Daozong and Xuanyi, we find the word 𘐴𘈦𘈩𘈽 ‹l.iu.rėn.er› or 𘐴𘈦𘈩𘈿 ‹l.iu.rėn.en› after the year, month and date indicating the time of death. These seem to be honorific terms corresponding to Chinese 崩 *beng* 'to die [of an emperor or empress]' The stem is 𘐴𘈦𘈩 l.iu.rėn› and 𘈽 ‹er› and 𘈿 ‹én› are suffixes indicating the gender of the subject.

In following the career of Prince Xu, we read: 𘈪𘈽 𘈖𘈨 𘐴𘐕 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈽 ‹j.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ d.em.l.ge.er› (Xu 7). 𘈪𘈽 𘈖𘈨 𘐴𘐕 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ› is the title 中書令 *zhongshuling* 'secretariat director' In line 34 we read 𘈖𘈦 𘈭 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈾 ‹ś.eu tai pu d.em.le.ge.ei›. 𘈖𘈦 𘈭 ‹ś.eu tai pu› is 守太傅 *shou taifu* 'acting grand mentor'. In line 35 we read 𘈖𘈦 𘈭 𘈨 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈾 ‹ś.eu tai sh d.em.le.ge.ei›. 𘈖𘈦 𘈭 𘈨 ‹ś.eu tai sh› is 守太師 *shou taishi* 'acting grand preceptor' Similarly, in Zhong 8 we read 𘐣 𘈖𘈨 𘈖𘈪 𘐣𘐕 𘈖𘈬 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈾 ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei›. 𘐣 𘈖𘈨 𘈖𘈪 𘐣𘐕 ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› is 輔國上將軍 *fuguo shang jiangjun* 'bulwark generalissimo of the state'. In Zhong 22 we read 𘐾𘈫 𘈦 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈾 ‹ci.ŋ oŋ d.em.le.ge.ei›. 𘐾𘈫 𘈦 ‹ci.ŋ oŋ› is 郕王 *Cheng wang* 'the prince of Cheng' In line 23 we read 𘈬𘈭 𘈖𘈨 𘈦 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈽 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ d.em.le.ge.er›. 𘈬𘈭 𘈖𘈨 𘈦 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ› is 越國王 *Yueguo wang* 'prince of the state of Yue'. In each of these expressions, an official title is followed by 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈾 ‹d.em.le.ge.ei› except the last in the series, which is 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈽 ‹d.em.le.ge.er›. It is clear from the context that 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈾 ~ 𘐣𘐤𘐴𘈽𘈽 means 'to be enfeoffed, to be awarded an honorary title' (封 *feng*). The stem is 𘐣𘐤 ‹d.em›, 𘐴𘈽 ‹le.ge› is a causative/passive suffix, 𘈾 ‹ei› is a converb ending and 𘈽 ‹er› indicates the past tense of the finite verb following stems with the vowel [e].

Official titles were sometimes designated by the number of characters used to designate the rank of the person concerned. The highest rank had only one character. This was known as 一字王 *yi zi wang* 'one character prince', e.g. the prince of Yan. The equivalent in Kitan can be found in Zhong 4: 𘈾 𘍞𘈦𘈩𘈪 ‹ONE us.g:en oŋ›. 𘈩 ‹en› is a genitive/attributive suffix. In Xu 16, 23, 34 and 37 we find 𘈦𘈽 𘈪𘈫 𘈾 𘍞𘈦𘐣 ‹g.uŋ c.in FOUR us.gi:d›, where ‹g.uŋ c.in› is 功臣 *gongchen* 'meritorious official' 𘈾 is 'four' and 𘐣 ‹d› is a plural ending. The equivalent title in Chinese is 四字功臣 *si zi gongchen.* in Xu 35 we have 𘈦𘈽 𘈪𘈫 𘍞𘈦𘐣 𘈬 ‹g.úŋ c.in us.gi:d SIX›

'meritorious official designated by six characters 六字功臣 *liu zi gongchen*' In Ling 6 we have 𐹀𐹢𐹢 𐹡𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹣𐹢 𐹤𐹀𐹢𐹣 ‹g.uŋ c.in EIGHT us.gi:d› 'meritorious official designated by eight characters 八字功臣 *ba zi gongchen*' The reading ‹us› for 𐹤 is based on a possible connection with Mo. *üsüg* 'writing'

In Ren 8 we read 𐹢𐹡𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹀𐹢𐹢𐹡 𐹢𐹢 𐹣𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹣 ‹t.ai s.uŋ g.úr en qa ź.in s.úŋ› 'Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State' 𐹡 must be an allograph of 𐹢 ‹ai›. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word 𐹢𐹢 ‹qa› 'khan' as distinct from 𐹢𐹢𐹢 ‹qa.ha› 'khaghan'. Zhong 21 𐹢𐹢𐹤 𐹀𐹀𐹤 𐹀𐹢𐹢 ‹qa.an g.ui g.uŋ› is a transcription of 韓國公 *Hanguo gong* 'lord of the state of Han', suggesting that 𐹢𐹢 ‹qa› was a fricative.

The Langjun inscription is dated 時天會十二年歲次甲寅仲冬十有四日 'the time was the fourteenth day of mid-winter, *jiayin* year, the twelfth year of the Tianhui reign period' Wang Jingru 1933 proposed that 𐹤𐹢𐹣 ‹dau.úr.ún› was 仲冬 *zhongdong* 'mid-winter' Chinggeltei 1976 proposed that since 仲 *zhong* means the same as 中 *zhong* 'middle', 𐹤𐹢𐹣 ‹dau.úr.ún› might be related to Mo. *dumda* 'middle', Da. *duanda* 'middle'

Zhong 6 contains the phrase 𐹤𐹣𐹤 𐹀𐹢𐹢𐹡 𐹣𐹀𐹤 ‹qid.ún:i g.úr:en us.gi:de›. 𐹀𐹢𐹢𐹡 ‹g.úr:en› is 'country, state' (genitive) and 𐹣𐹀𐹤 ‹us.gi:de› means 'writing, script' (locative). So 𐹀𐹢𐹢𐹡 𐹣𐹀𐹤 ‹g.úr:en us.gi:de› must mean 'in the national script' The first word must be the name of a state. So 𐹤𐹣𐹤 ‹qid.ún.i› must be the Kitan word for Kitan.

Zhong 6 can be read as: 𐹀𐹤 𐹥 𐹤𐹣𐹤 𐹦 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹡 𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢 𐹢 𐹣 ‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún:i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai, FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN:er› 'the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the white horse year, the sixth year of the Kitan Da'an reign period' 𐹣 ‹de› is a locative suffix, 𐹥 ‹er› a past tense suffix. Xiao Zhonggong was a Liao noble taken prisoner by the Jin. In the inscription, the early events of his life are referred to in terms of how old he was at that particular time. It was not until the sixth year of the Tianfu 天輔 reign period of the Jin dynasty, when he was taken prisoner, that the years are referred to according to the Jin system. The Jin always referred to the Liao as Kitans, never as Liao.

In Renyi 4, 𐹢𐹤 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹣 𐹢𐹢 𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹤 𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 ‹mu.i án.ar.bo.ń hoŋ tai heu ei.ra.u.ud.i n.ad.bú:en 201.kả.i mu.u.ji x.i.iŋ s.úŋ HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar.a hoŋ di:en qad.ún:n›. 𐹣 𐹢𐹢 𐹢 ‹hoŋ tai heu› is 皇太后 *huang tai hou* 'empress' 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› is 'Yelü' 𐹤𐹤𐹢 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢 ‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ› is Xingzong. 𐹤 𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢𐹢(𐹢) ‹HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar.(a)› is the reign title Chongxi. 𐹣 𐹢 means 'emperor' According to the *Liaoshi*, the Kitans followed the Turks in

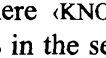
calling the empress *kedun,* so Liu Fengzhu suggested 𘲍𘲭 ‹qad.ún› is *qatun*, 'wife of the khan' 𘲗 ‹n› is perhaps a genitive ending.

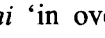
Gu 1 reads: 𘲭𘲍 𘲉𘲍𘲭𘲗𘲗 𘲍𘲉𘲘 𘲘𘲉𘲗 𘲉𘲍𘲗 𘲍𘲉𘲗𘲘 𘲉𘲍𘲗 𘲍𘲉𘲗𘲘 𘲍𘲉𘲗𘲘 𘲉𘲍𘲗 𘲍𘲉𘲗𘲘 ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud.i ci.lú.dû t.il.uh.iń z.iaŋ g.ün ś.ï t.ad.i áu.ui:en ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú c.eu û.ún ci.ge.ho›. 𘲭𘲍 ‹m.o› is 'great' 𘲉𘲍𘲭𘲗𘲗 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i› is Yelü with a suffix, probably genitive. 𘲗𘲍𘲭 𘲉𘲍𘲗 𘲉𘲍𘲗 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› means 'epitaph, inscription on a tombstone'.𘲉𘲘 𘲍𘲉𘲘 ‹z.iaŋ g.ün› is 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general' 𘲉𘲍𘲗𘲘 ‹t.il.uh.iń› should be the name of the general, perhaps *Dilgun. His clan name may have been Churud 𘲘𘲍𘲘 ‹ci.lú.dû›. In Gu 4 we have 𘲉𘲍𘲭𘲗𘲗 𘲉𘲘𘲘𘲗𘲗 𘲘 𘲍 ‹ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.an tai oŋ›. 𘲉𘲍𘲭𘲗𘲗 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› means Yelü. 𘲉𘲘𘲘𘲗𘲗 ‹s.ar.ha.an› must correspond to the personal name Salan found in Chinese texts. 𘲘 𘲍𘲍 ‹tai oŋ:on› is the genitive form of 大王 'great king' Note the genitive ending 𘲍 ‹on›, indicating the vowel in 王 was [o].

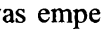
In Gu 5, 太祖聖元皇帝 *Taizu shengyuan huangdi,* 懿祖皇帝 *Yizu huangdi* and 德祖黃帝 *Dezu huangdi* are listed among the ancestors of the occupant of the tomb. 𘲍𘲗 ‹aú.ui› is the official status of the owner, corresponds to the Chinese term 娘子 *niangzi* 'royal highness' The word preceding this is her name: 𘲉𘲍𘲗 ‹t.ad.i›. In Gu 3 we read 𘲍𘲗 𘲗𘲘 𘲉𘲍𘲗 ‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i› 'her highness' name was *Tadi. 𘲗𘲘 ‹i.ri› means 'name'

After a name we often find the title 𘲉𘲘𘲗 ‹pu.is.iń›. Liu Fengzhu identified this with Chinese 夫人 *furen* 'madame' Tadi's name and titles are followed by 𘲍 𘲭𘲘 𘲍. The first graph, 𘲍, is 'six' The term 六院部人 *liu yuan bu ren* 'a member of the six groups' is common in the *Liaoshi* biographies. Liu concluded that 𘲍 𘲭𘲘 𘲍 must correspond to 六院部. 𘲭𘲘 ‹u.ur› can also mean 院 *yuan* 'division' The graph 𘲍 remains a problem. In some contexts it seems to mean 'south', in others a tribal unit. In the third line of Zhong we find 𘲍 𘲭𘲘 𘲭𘲍, so perhaps 𘲍 and 𘲭𘲍 ‹mo.qú› both mean something like 'tribe', cf. Ma. *mukûn* 'clan, extended family, kindred'

The logographs 𘲗 and 𘲗 refer to the stems 戊 *wu* and 己 *ji*. But 𘲗 also occurs in the first line of the Langjun inscription, where it corresponds to 金 *jin*, the Jin dynasty. 金 *jin* here means 'gold' rather than 'metal': the Jurchens referred to their state as **alčun,* 'gold' But the two stems 戊 *wu* and 己 *ji* correspond to the element 土 *tu* 'earth' in the five elements, not 金 *jin* 'metal' Yamaji 1956 was the first to suggest that as the Mongols and Manchus use colours to correspond to the elements, perhaps the Kitans did the same. Yamaji suggested that 𘲗 could mean both 'yellow' and 'gold' Ji Shi 1981 also argued that the Kitans used the five colours to indicate the heavenly stems. The *Qidanguo zhi* [Kitan State Annals] notes that the river known in Chinese as the 潢河 Huang river was called 裊羅個沒里 **niao-luo-go mo-li* and 女古沒里 **niu-gu mo-li* in Kitan. The river is now known

by its Mongol name, *Šira müren* 'yellow river' In *Liaoshi* 31, we read that the Kitan word for 'gold' was *nü-gu* '金曰女古' This suggests that the Kitan name of the Jin dynasty was**nügu* 'gold', the same as the Chinese and Jurchen names for the Jurchen state. Ling 4 ‹tai ś.iŋ HEAVEN GOLD♂ hoŋ di› and Xu 5  ‹tai s.ú HEAVEN GOLD♂ hoŋ di› indicate that seems to be the name or the reign title of an emperor. In Daozong 10, we also find preceding 'emperor' We read in the *Qidanguo zhi* that "in the first year of the Shence period, Abaoji declared himself emperor. The people of the state called him 天皇王 *tianhuangwang* 'heaven august king'." Perhaps 皇 *huang* 'august' was translated by the homophone 黄 'yellow', especially if 山 also meant 'gold'

The Confucian virtue 'humaneness 仁' appears in the name  ‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji›, corresponding to Chinese 仁聖 Rensheng. ‹mu.u.ji› means 聖 *sheng* 'holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor', so ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› must be 仁 *ren*. The connection is not clear: ‹hur.ú› seems to mean 'person in control, person in charge of' The name and official title of the composer of the text, Yelü Gu, is given in the Daozong inscription. Most of his official titles are transcriptions from Chinese, but the term ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i› is Kitan. The graph , transcribed here ‹KNOW›, corresponds to Chinese 知 *zhi*, which is used in official titles in the sense of 'to administer, to be in charge of' In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liaoshi*, we learn that Yelü Gu was the 総知翰林院事 *zongzhi Hanlinyuan shi* 'in overall charge of the Hanlin academy' So Shen Hui concluded that must mean 'in charge of the Hanlin academy' So ‹hur.ú› should mean 'to be in charge of' The officials in charge of the 翰林 *hanlin* 'forest of pens' [written matters] were the Hanlin academicians. The *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü* (Gu) was dated the fifth year of the Tianqing period of the emperor 天祚 Tianzuo (1115). There are four empty spaces in line 10, followed by ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau›. The last two graphs are 'nine' and 'five' 九五 *jiu wu* 'nine five' is from the *Book of Changes* and refers to the accession to the imperial throne. The first word ‹ún.n› is 'now, present' ‹mu.u.ji:en› is the genitive of 聖 *sheng* 'holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor' So ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau› means 'when the present emperor ascended the throne' We find a similar expression in Renyi 5: ‹mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ di› 'the present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor' Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the Renyi epitaph was composed.

In Gu 17 we read:  ‹FOUR ń.iau.ń.er THREE♂ k.iú ONE m.ô.qú›. We would expect this to mean 'four children, three male,

one female' (Wang Hongli 1998). The second word is 𗼇𗹦𗼇𗴲 ‹ń.iau.ń.er›, cf. Da. *noon* 'boy, son' The word after 𗰜 ‹THREE♂› is 𗼇𗵘 ‹k.iú›, cf. Da. *keuke ~keku* 'child' (Liu Fengzhu 1987:153-161).

Toyoda Gorō suggested that the common word 𗹐𗵆 might mean 'night', which he compared to MMo. *süni,* Mo. *söni* (Liu Fengzhu 1995). If so, Zhong 9 𗹐𗵆𗼃 𗴲𗾔 ‹s.uni:en po:do› would mean 'at night time' In Xu 10 and Renxian 41, 𗹐𗵆 𗼇𗵘 ‹s.uni DAY.i› is 'night and day' In Renxian we find 𗰛 𗹐𗵆 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night' and 𗹦 𗹐𗵆𗼇 ‹ONE s.uni:de› 'on one night' So 𗵆 'ox' and its corresponding cyclical branch 丑 *chou* should be read ‹uni›, cf. Mo. *üniye* 'cow' (Liu Fengzhu 1995). Toyoda 1998b also suggested 𗼇 𗹦 𗾞𗼇𗼭 𗼃𗿳𗴲 ‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.ń› means 'the sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦'

In Xing 31, we read 𗵒 𗹦 𗴺𗺰𗹨 𗼇𗼇 𗹦𗼭 𗾔 𗾞𗾔 𗼃𗽐 𗹦𗽐 𗼭𗾔𗾔 𗾔𗾔𗾔 𗼇𗼇 ‹EIGHTY ONE ci.ra.l n.o, bo.qo qa eu.úr zȯ.qó b.as ên.is.ha.ai m.o›. In several inscriptions, 𗼇𗼇 ‹m.o› 'big, great [older]', is contrasted with 𗼃𗽐 ‹zȯ.qó›, which in this context must mean 'younger' The expression 𗾔𗾔 𗼃𗽐 ‹eu.úr zȯ.qó› can also be found in Zhong 34: 𗾔𗾔 𗼃𗽐𗾔 ‹eu.úr zȯ.qó:do› 'when he was young' with the locative suffix 𗾔 ‹do›. If 𗼃𗽐 ‹zȯ.qó› means 'young', we can understand the common expression 𗵘𗾔𗼇𗴲 𗼃𗽐 𗽐 𗼃 ‹na.ha.án.er zȯ.qó TENT:en›. In Xu 3, there are a few spaces before 𗹦𗾔𗼃 𗵘𗾔𗼇𗴲 𗼃𗽐 𗽐 𗼃 𗾔𗾔 𗹨𗾔 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zȯ.qó ŋ.in s.iŋ›, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. In the Chinese part of the Xu inscription we find the expression 翁帳銀青 *wengzhang yinqing.* 𗾔𗾔 𗹐𗵆 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› is 銀青 *yinqing.* So 𗼃𗽐 𗽐 𗼃 must be 翁帳 *weng zhang.* The graph 𗽐 ‹TENT› looks like 𗽐 ‹MONTH›; in many transcriptions they are confused. Wang Hongli translated 𗹦𗾔𗼃 𗵘𗾔𗼇𗴲 𗼃𗽐 𗽐 𗼃 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.an.er zȯ.qó TENT:en› as 'the tent of the junior maternal uncles' According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi,* there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang:* the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang.* So 𗵘𗾔𗼇𗴲 𗼃𗽐 𗽐 𗼃 ‹na.ha.án.er zȯ.qó TENT:en› can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang* 'of the lineage of the junior maternal uncles'

1.23 Other research

Wang Hongli 1986 agreed with Osada's suggestion that Prince Xu was Yelü Wotela, that the word 𗾞𗺰𗹨𗼇 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› meant 'first, first-born', 序 *xu* 'preface [in an inscription]' and 朔 *shuo* 'first day of the month' He deciphered the words for boy, eldest son, second son, third son, fourth son, 'age at death' and 'sixty' and concluded that Empress Renyi died at the age

of 62. Wang Hongli 1988 is a discussion on why scholars could not agree on the word for Kitan in Kitan.

Ji Shi is one of the most prolific writers on Kitan. His decipherment of many graphs, such as father, mother, wife, son, uncle, second son, third son, family, *biexu* 'her excellency', 'six divisions' and others, are generally accepted. The results of his researches have been collected in Ji Shi 1996.

Toyoda 1992 is a study of the directions and some numerals; Toyoda 1998b is a study of the terms for the four seasons. Chinggeltei 1991 is a study of the twelve zodiac animals, comparing the terms in Kitan with Mongol. Chinggeltei 1998 is a study of the Kitan numerals.

Most of the most recent inscriptions have been published by Liu Fengzhu, either by himself or in co-authored with others. These include comments and partial translations of the text. Each inscription provides more information or evidence about one aspect or another of the Kitan script and lexicon. Aisin Gioro (2004a, 2005b) are collections of articles on many aspects of the language of the inscriptions, including numerals, seasons and comparisons with Mongol and other languages. Her work on Kitan morphology, based on the inscriptions, is particularly valuable.

1.24 Transcription of the small Kitan script

Chinese and Japanese researchers quote words and sentences in Kitan without any transcription. This is not acceptable in a book written in English, so a transcription system must be devised. That proposed here is mainly based on the phonetic values of the graphs as determined by their use in Chinese loanwords, as outlined above and discussed in greater detail below. They are *transcriptions:* each graph is represented by one or more roman letters which probably, but by no means certainly, represent the approximate phonetic values of the Kitan graphs. They are written ‹a›, ‹an› and so on. Graphs which seem to have the same, or perhaps a very similar pronunciation as deduced from the transcription values are indicated by an acute accent: ‹o› ‹ó›; ‹u› ‹ú›. Many graphs, however, are still unexplained. Chinese researchers often refer to , for example, as [ka] because of its graphic similarity to 卡 *ka*. This does not imply any phonetic similarity: it is simply a way of referring to . I have written as ‹kå›, the unusual diacritic over the vowel being a stylized question mark. It is typographically more convenient to write ‹kå› than ‹ka›(?) or ‹041›, and relates to the original graph in a way ‹041› does not. Similarly, is ‹kė› because of its similarity to Chinese 可. The same annotation is used for graphs for which a particular reading has been proposed, such as ‹zů›, but

which is not commonly accepted in the literature. This diacritic has some mnemonic value, no more.

1.25 Transcription of logographs

In some cases the meaning of a graph is known, but not its reading. An example is 𒈬 308, which means 'compose [the text of an inscription]' The pronunciation of 𒈬 is unknown. In these cases, the graph is transcribed by its gloss in small capitals: ‹COMPOSE›. I have transcribed logographs by their meaning when it is known. Undeciphered graphs are referred to by their numbers in the standard list in *Research*.

1.26 The dotted forms

Some graphs have an additional dot. There have been many suggested explanations for these: that they indicate some sub-class of numerals or colours, or are used with nouns to whom respect is due (Chen Naixiong 1992). Recently Wu Yingzhe 2005a has proposed the dot indicates grammatical gender. The texts do not contradict that interpretation. The dot is indicated by the symbol ♂, e.g. 𒌋 ‹ONE›, 𒌋 ‹ONE♂›. Some dotted forms are:

𒌋[026]	𒌋[027]	𒄑[134]	𒄑[135]	𒅆[166]	𒅆[167]	𒌋[029]	𒌋[030]
𒁍[085]	𒁍[086]	𒁕[368]	𒁕[369]	𒁍[007]	𒁍[008]	𒁍[033]	𒁍[034]
𒀭[004]	𒀭[005]	𒀭[285]	𒀭[286]	𒀭[081]	𒀭[082]	𒀭[326]	𒀭[327]

1.27 Similar and probably identical graphs

𒀸[132]	𒀸[133]	𒀭[344]	𒀭[105]	𒀭[061]	𒀭[060]	𒀭[208]	𒀭[209]	𒀭[064]
𒀸[221]	𒀸[222]	𒀭[348]	𒀭[109]	𒀭[011]	𒀭[127]	𒀭[171]	𒀭[214]	𒀭[215]
𒀸[349]	𒀸[112]	𒀭[146]	𒀭[336]	𒀭[370]	𒀭[371]	𒀭[230]	𒀭[231]	𒀭[227]
𒀸[254]	𒀸[110]	𒀭[361]	𒀭[100]	𒀭[072]	𒀭[101]	𒀭[347]	𒀭[107]	𒀭[108]
𒀸[241]	𒀸[242]	𒀭[352]	𒀭[114]	𒀭[068]	𒀭[103]	𒀭[146]	𒀭[153]	𒀭[337]
𒀸[223]	𒀸[224]	𒀭[353]	𒀭[113]	𒀭[262]	𒀭[263]	𒀭[149]	𒀭[147]	𒀭[148]
𒀸[003]	𒀸[031]	𒀭[200]	𒀭[201]	𒀭[362]	𒀭[125]	𒀭[049]	𒀭[354]	𒀭[104]
𒀸[172]	𒀸[173]	𒀭[306]	𒀭[307]	𒀭[117]	𒀭[118]	𒀭[271]	𒀭[272]	

1.28 Probably miswritten graphs

𒀸[301]	=𒀸[300]	𒀭[267]	𒀭[266]	=𒀭[209]	𒀭[208]	=𒀭[275]	=𒀭[276]	=𒀭[277]	=𒀭[278]

1.29 Similar but different graphs

乂	‹x›	关	‹i›	爻	‹ér›		
夯	‹oi›	夯		夯			
公	‹ô›	公					
承		承		承		承	
雨	‹in›	雨	‹on›				
丹	312	丹	‹ló›	丹‹iaŋ›		丹‹iảŋ›	
夫	‹rí›	夫	‹w›	夫‹oŋ›			
用	‹BORN›	用	310				
央	‹un›	夾	‹úr›	女		久	
大	‹ud›	火	‹ud›	太	‹uŋ›	太	‹uŋ›
几	‹g›	凡	‹dú›	凡	‹sh›		
刀	‹dó›	刃	‹rén›	力	‹na›	为	‹qo›
丸	‹mú›	丸	‹śï›	九	193	尘	194
方	200	方	201	劳	‹tu›	先	‹zủ›
反	‹o›	反	‹u›	犬	‹dau›	穴	‹nai›

1.30 Phonograms

The phonograms are of three types: (1) those used only to transcribe Chinese (2) those used only to write Kitan words and (3) those used in both Chinese and Kitan words. On *a priori* grounds, we might suspect that group (1) represents phonemes or syllables in Chinese which Kitan did not have: retroflexes, for example, and initial and final /ŋ/. We can presume that group (2) represents phonemes or syllables which Kitan had but Chinese did not: back consonants, fronted vowels, initial and final /r/. We can also presume that group (3) represents phonemes common to both Kitan and Chinese.

When we analyse the Kitan transcriptions of Chinese, we note that certain Kitan consonants seem to go in pairs (using the transliteration scheme I have adopted):

丹	业	荅	今	又	仕	伏	公
b	p	d	t	m	mu	ń	n

It is by no means clear what phonetic difference there was between 丹 ‹b› and 业 ‹p›, for example, or 荅 ‹d› and 今 ‹t›.The difference between ‹b› and ‹p› in English is that of voiced and voiceless, but in the *pinyin* transcription of modern Chinese the two graphemes distinguish aspirated and unaspirated labial stops. 丹 ‹b› seems to be associated with rounded vowels and 业 ‹p›

with unrounded vowels; 伏 ‹ń› seems to be associated with front vowels and 公 ‹n› with back vowels. Both 公 and 今 are used as plural suffixes, but only 今 is used after feminine nouns.

Chinese *k* and *g* (using the *pinyin* based romanisation system I am using for Liao Chinese) are transcribed as 叔 ‹k› and 九 ‹g›, which I think must represent Kitan 'front' [k] and [g]. 虫 ‹qa› and 主 ‹ha› or 刘 ‹hu› are generally not used in Chinese words, and represent the 'back' Kitan phonemes which are absent from Chinese. I use ‹h› for [ɣ].

1.31 Graphs only used to write Chinese

兆	壮	秀	万	龙	发	杰	赏	拿	戈
sh	ss	ts	tś	tz	tź	w	ŋ	z	ź

兔	业	好	韭	用	水	当	风	亦	吞	谷
aŋ	áŋ	iaŋ	iáŋ	iŋ	uŋ	úŋ	iúŋ	ün	ï	ï

1.32 Symbols used for the Kitan vowels

为‹a›	券‹e›	关‹i›	反 ‹o›	永 ‹u›
			廾 ‹ó›	爭 ‹ú›
			尒 ‹ô›	只 ‹û›

Kitan was exceptionally rich in rounded vowels. I have transcribed them as above, but it is not clear at the moment which graph corresponds to which particular phoneme. One would expect vowels like [ü] and [ö], but it is not clear which graphs might represent these phonemes. Graphs used to transcribe Chinese medials are 文 ‹ie› 艾 ‹y› and 仲 ‹ü›. 吞 ‹ï› transcribes the Chinese 'retracted *i*' [ɿ, ʅ]' 拳‹î› is rare. 圣 ‹êm› is probably [iam] ~ [iæm] ~ [iɛm] and 寿 ‹ên› is probably [ian] ~ [iæn] ~ [iɛn]. 备 ‹êŋ› is possibly [iæŋ] ~ [iɛŋ].

1.33 Syllables of the VV type

1.34 Syllables of the VC type

与al		用il		平ul	
本ar	发er	尘or	实úr	他ur	
务as		系is		共us	
东ad		币od	火ud		
灵an	相en	雨in	尔on	女un	
出án	当én	伏ińˊ	雨ón	又ún	
	方ên	虫iên	亦ün		
负aŋ	业áŋ	用iŋ	点oŋ	术uŋ	当úŋ
	骨iaŋ	业iáŋ	风iúŋ	各êŋ	
乃am	发êm	雨in	用iŋ		
东ah			里oh	久uh	

1.35 Syllables of the C and CV type

本	c,ci	闹	ca	而	cau	劳	cu	尚	co
发	d, de	久	da	尺	dau	们	du	分	dû
令	t, te	仍	ta	无	tau	劳	tu	凡	dú
羽	j,ji	补	ja	弱	jau	子	ju		
公	n	力	na	次	neu	伏	ńi		
骨	b, bo	业	bi	骨	bo	生	bu		
又	m, mo	行	mú	又	m	住	mu		
半	l, le	复	lí	发	lu				
令	s, se	飞	ś						
补	hu	业	ha	北	ho				
九	g, gi	衣	ge	曲	go	勺	gu	为	qo
为	q, qo	座	qa	口	qi	欠	qó	余	qu
叔	k, ke	业	ki	几	ku	饥	kú	犬	qú
义	x, xe	不	xa			类	xo	戎	xu
发	ŋ	拿	z	戈	ź	兆	sh	过	ss
龙	tz, tzi	支	dz	发	dź	秀	ts	万	tś

1.36 Vowel harmony

Vowels fall into two groups: 为 ‹a› 出 ‹án› 半 ‹ai› 本 ‹ar› 与 ‹al› 升 ‹ó› often appear in the same words, while 万 ‹ei› 当 ‹én› 发 ‹er› 北 ‹ii› 尺 ‹û› appear in other words. Some graphs occur mainly in one group (such as 发 ‹er›), but occasionally occur in another group. Some graphs, such as 又 ‹ún› 羽 ‹ji› and 伏 ‹ń› appear in both groups. *Research* listed the following:

Suffixes based on ‹a›

𐤀 𐤔𐤀 𐤔𐤀𐤍 𐤔𐤀𐤍𐤀𐤓
a a.ai ha.ar ha.a.ar
𐤔𐤀𐤍 𐤔𐤀𐤍𐤀 𐤔𐤀𐤍𐤀𐤍 𐤔𐤀𐤍𐤀𐤍𐤀𐤓
ha.an ha.a.an ha.a.an.én ha.a.an.er
𐤔𐤀𐤋 𐤔𐤀𐤋𐤄𐤅 𐤔𐤀𐤋𐤄𐤅𐤀𐤍 𐤔𐤀𐤋𐤀𐤍 𐤄𐤀𐤀𐤋
ha.al ha.al.hu ha.al.hu.an ha.al.un ha.a.al
𐤄𐤅 𐤄𐤅𐤀𐤓 𐤄𐤅𐤀𐤃
hu hu.er hu.an hu.ad

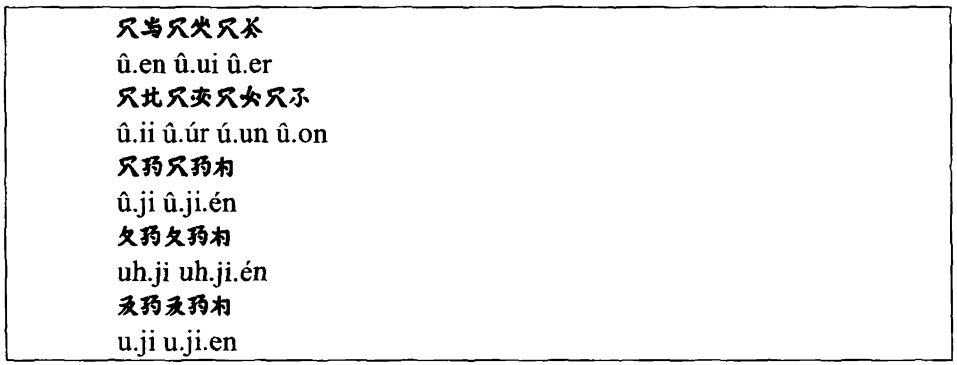
Suffixes based on ‹e›

𐤀𐤉 𐤏𐤍 𐤀𐤓 𐤏𐤍
ei én er en
𐤂𐤀𐤉 𐤂𐤏𐤉𐤍 𐤂𐤏𐤀𐤓 𐤂𐤏𐤉𐤍𐤀𐤓
ge.ei ge.én ge.er ge.én.er
𐤉𐤉 𐤎𐤉𐤉 𐤀𐤉𐤉 𐤂𐤏𐤉𐤉
ii s.ii o.ii ge.ii
𐤂𐤀𐤓 𐤂𐤏𐤍 𐤂𐤉𐤃𐤄
g.er g.en gi.de

Suffixes based on ‹o›/‹ó›

𐤀𐤍 𐤀𐤅
o on
𐤀𐤅𐤀𐤍 𐤀𐤅𐤉𐤉
ó.o.on ó.o.ii
𐤀𐤅𐤉 𐤀𐤅𐤉𐤀
ó.ui ó.ui.i
𐤀𐤅𐤉𐤓 𐤀𐤅𐤉 𐤀𐤅𐤉𐤀𐤓 𐤀𐤅𐤉𐤍
ó.úr ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.en
𐤀𐤅𐤉 𐤀𐤅𐤉𐤀𐤓 𐤀𐤅𐤉𐤍
ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.én
𐤀𐤋𐤉𐤉 𐤀𐤋𐤉𐤉𐤀𐤓
al.ii al.ii.er al.ii.er

Suffixes based on ‹û›



1.37 Inherent vowels

The consonants listed above seem to represent consonantal phonemes in some words, and syllables in others. There must have been an "inherent vowel" attached to these consonants: for convenience, and partly based on the transcriptions of Chinese, I write ‹o› after labials, ‹e› after dentals and ‹i› after velars, palatals and affricates. So 𐲀 is ‹b› in 𐲀𐲤 ‹b.as› 'again' but ‹bo› in 𐲥𐲀 ‹tai.bo›, a transcription of Chinese 太保 *taibao*. 𐲁𐲎𐲦 ‹ri.g.en› 'a tribal chief' is transcribed *yilijin* 夷離堇, suggesting 𐲁 should here be transcribed ‹ir› or ‹iri›, or that a prothetic vowel was pronounced before [r]. A similar situation arises with 𐲧𐲦 ‹s.en›, a common name which means 'long life' which is transcribed in Chinese as 義信 Yixin. This also suggests a prothetic vowel. In other cases, graphs seem to have slightly different values, depending on where they are in a word. 𐲍 is clearly [ńi] at the beginning of a word, as in 𐲍𐲏 ‹ńi.qo› 'dog', variously normalised as **noqai, *nehe, *noho, *nyaka* and others. At the end of a syllable, however, it appears to have been read [iń].

Kitan graphs were used to write two quite distinct languages, with different phonological systems. At this stage we cannot see clearly how the Kitans perceived Chinese aspirates. We cannot clearly see how the Chinese perceived such syllables as *qa* or *yu*. It is unlikely there was any systematic means of transcription on either side.

A *normalisation* of a transliterated script can be done on the basis of words in the same or a closely cognate language. Runic Turkic is a case in point. It is too early in the study of Kitan to attempt a systematic normalisation, though there may be some possibilities when there is a cognate word in Mongol or a reliable transcription in Chinese. The transcription system presented here still has too many "accented letters" and

doubtful readings. The transcriptions are no more than plausible possibilities, but they are also no less. If we are going to make any progress, we have no choice but to use such a transcription system in order to move on to the study of the texts themselves.

1.38 Possible multiple readings of Kitan graphs

One suggestion sometimes made is that some Kitan graphs might have two readings: one when used as logograph, and another when used as a phonogram. Toyoda 2000, for example, reads 𘍞 as ‹ai› when it is used in the transcription of Chinese words, but **awi* when it is the Kitan word for 'father' Similarly, 𘍏 is ‹bu› in Chinese transcriptions, but **ewüge* in the Kitan word 𘍏 𘍞 **ebüge awi* 'grandfather' Aisin Gioro 2004:38 reads ‹ai› for 𘍞 in Chinese transcriptions, but **aja* in the Kitan word 'father' The Kitan word for 'elder brother' is 𘍝 ‹ia›, and it is commonly used to transcribe such words as 家 **gia,* written 𘊳𘍝 ‹g.ia›. A reading based on Mongol, such as **axa* or **aqa*, is commonly suggested as the Kitan word for 'elder brother'. It is not impossible some such system did not exist, but there is little evidence to support this hypothesis.

Part of the impetus to seek multiple readings comes from a sense of desperation. It is now possible to transcribe words, phrases, paragraphs, even the greater part of whole inscriptions, with a large number of probably more or less accurate readings, based on the transcriptions of Chinese words in the inscriptions. In some cases, these readings are shown to be reasonably accurate, because actual Kitan words emerge, such as 𘍦𘊰 ‹mo.ri› 'horse' In most cases, however, texts in Kitan, using the current transcriptions, cannot be understood on the basis of Mongol. Therefore, goes the argument, the transcriptions must be wrong, or there must be a separate system of transcriptions for Kitan words, as yet undiscovered. At this stage, however, such suggestions lack any evidence.

The above charts suggest that some of the unidentified graphs may fill some of the gaps, if the Kitan script (as used for Kitan) is primarily a syllabary, with some logographs. When used to transcribe Chinese, it was not a syllabary: certain graphs transcribed certain Chinese initials, certain graphs transcribed Chinese finals. It is also possible that the Kitan script indicated vowels sparsely. A script is not necessarily a phonemic transcription: the native speaker knew how to pronounce 𘍠𘍠 ‹c c› or 𘍡𘍡𘍡 ‹s.l.b› from context. More texts, and more intensive investigation of the texts, might make these matters clearer.

CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSIS OF THE KITAN SMALL GRAPHS

> Uighur messengers came to court, but there was no one who could understand their language. The empress said to Taizu, "Tiela is clever. He may be sent to welcome them." By being in their company for twenty days he was able to learn their spoken language and script. Then he created a script of smaller Kitan characters which, though few in number, covered everything. - *Liaoshi,* quoted in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, p. 243.

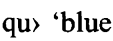
The Kitan small graphs were each allocated a number in *Research*, which has become a standard list, and the numbers a recognised way of referring to them. The expression 該貫 in the above quotation, translated 'covered everything', is usually understood by Chinese scholars to mean 'linked together', contrasting the graphs of the large script, written individually like Chinese characters, with the small script, in which the graphs are 'linked together' to form words. Chinese characters are transcribed in a modified form of *pinyin*, which reflects more closely the underlying form of Chinese transcribed by the Kitan script. This transcription is presented in Chapter Seven.

*

2.001 ‹ABOVE, NORTH›. ‹NORTH u.ur› 北院 'northern administration' See also 009. Reading unknown. Suggested readings based on Mo. such as *umar-a, xoina, xoi*, or Mo. *aru* 'back, rear' lack evidence.

2.002 ‹TWENTY›. Reading unknown. Ji Shi 1986a noted a reference to an early Kitan leader named 晝里昏阿 *zhou-li-hun-a,* who, according to the *Qidanguo zhi*: 惟養羊二十口，日食十九，留其一焉，次日復有二十口，日如之 'he kept twenty goats; every day he ate nineteen, only leaving one; the next day again there were twenty, this continued day after day, every day was like this'. Ji Shi suggested that 晝 *zhou* might be a mistake for 畫 *hua,* thus giving the name as 畫里昏阿 *hua-li-hun-a*. This is reminiscent of Mo. *qori* ~ *qorin* 'twenty' and *qoni* ~ *qonin* 'sheep'

2.003 ‹tś›. Probably an allograph of 031.

2.004 ‹WHITE›. represents the Chinese cyclical terms 庚 *geng* and 辛 *xin*. Mo. and Ma. use the five colours 藍 *lan* 'blue', 紅 *hong* 'red', 黃 *huang* 'yellow', 白 *bai* 'white' and 黑 *hei* 'black' to correspond to the cyclical terms, but Tibetan and Japanese use the five elements, 水 *shui* 'water' 火 *huo* 'fire' 金 *jin* 'metal' 木 *mu* 'wood' 土 *tu* 'earth' It is generally accepted that the Kitan terms correspond to the five colours, but those which are written phonetically, such as  ‹l.iau.qu› 'red' and ‹s.iau.qu› 'blue' do not resemble the Mo. forms. Ji Shi 1981, 1984, 1986 suggested Kitan may have used the five elements to correspond to the ten stems of Chinese. The graph for white has a dotted version: and , which might mean 'white' and 'whitish', the way the two stems 庚 *geng* and 辛 *xin* are distinguished in Mongol and Manchu. Wu Yingzhe 2005a links the dotted forms with grammatical gender. The reading of is unknown. Some scholars suggest forms based on Mo. *čaγan*.

2.005 Dotted form of 'white'

2.006 ‹MOUNTAIN› ‹TOMB› ‹MOUNTAIN TOMB›. This graph looks very similar to 2.063, 'eternal' In some contexts, it appears to mean 'mountain', in others 'tomb' Perhaps 'tomb cut into a mountain', as the Kitan tombs were.

2.007 ‹EIGHT›. Ji Shi and Chinggeltei suggest *naim* < Mo. *naima*. Many numerals which can be reconstructed, such as *three, four, five, seven, nine* and *hundred* are similar to Mongol. Others, such as *one, two* and *six* are not. There is no evidence from the ordinals for the reading of . Cf. 'eighth, ordinal form of '

2.008 Dotted form of 'eight'

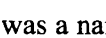
2.009 A contraction of 2.001 'above, upper' and the plural ending ‹d›, so 'the upper ones, the superiors' In Gu 17 corresponds to 正妻 'first wife, senior wife' In some contexts, it appears to mean 'ancestors', i.e. 'those above' or 'those who gave gone before' In other contexts seems to mean 'northern administration, the administration in the upper region'

2.010

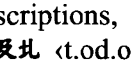
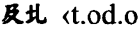
2.011 ‹an›. An allograph is ‹an› 2.127. Cf. ‹ś.a.án› 山 *shan* 'mountain'; ‹l.a.an› 蘭 *lan* 'orchid'; ‹a.an› 安 *an* 'peace' It is commonly used as a genitive suffix after stems with the vowel [a].

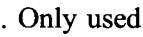
2.012

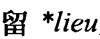
2.013

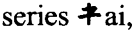
2.014 ‹hur›. In Langjun corresponds to 都統 'campaign commander' From other contexts, it seems ‹hur.ú› means 'person in control of' Cf. ‹hur.ú qa› 'controlling khan' Wang Hongli 1986 suggested  was a name, written variously 小斛祿, 小胡虜, 小胡魯, all **siauhulu*. is read ‹s.iau›, so may be ‹hur.ú› and so ‹hur›.

2.015 ‹HUNDRED› [jau]. *Liaoshi* glossary '爪, 百數也' **zhau* means a hundred, a number' ‹jau tau› transcribes the Chinese expression 招討 **zhautau* 'bandit suppression commissioner'

2.016 ‹od›. The word for 'fifth' is normally written  ‹t.ad.o.ho›. In some inscriptions, for example Haitangshan,  ‹t.ad.o.ho› is written ‹t.od.o.ho› Aisin Gioro 2004:186. It is used as a plural suffix following stems with the vowel [o].

2.017 ‹sȯ›. The reading of is not known. ‹sȯ.or› is common in  ‹k.em sȯ.or› 'an imperial edict was issued; in accordance with the imperial edict 奏奉'. Aisin Gioro suggests **so*.

2.018 ‹in›. Only used in transcriptions from Chinese: ‹ŋ.in› 'silver' = 銀 **ngin*; ‹z.in› 'enter' = 進 **zin*;  ‹c.in› 'official' = 臣 **chien;* ‹ź.in› 'benevolence' = 仁**rin.* It is a genitive suffix following stems with the vowel [i].

2.019 ‹iu›. Often appears in Chinese loan words. ‹s.iu› = 修 **sieu,* ‹l.iu› = 留 **lieu;*  ‹g.iu.uŋ d.ie.ên› = **gungdien* 宮殿. By itself it means 'is not, was not' = 'died'

2.020 ‹ei›. is commonly used transcribe Chinese initial *y*. As a final, it is probably [ei]: ‹d.ei› **dei* 特; ‹ei.eu.u› **yeu* 右; ~ ‹d.ei› ~ ‹t.ei› *dei* 德; ‹ei.ie.ên oŋ› 燕王 **yen ong* 'the prince of Yan' ‹ei.ra.u.ud› 'Yelü' 耶律. In Kitan morphology, is a converb suffix in the series ai, ii, oi, ei.

2.021 𘲍 ‹MOTHER, FEMALE›. Transcribed ‹mó›. *Research* interpreted 𘲍𘲇 as 'empress', based on the entry in the *Liaoshi* glossary: 耨斡麽 neu-e-mo: 麽亦作改; 耨斡, 后土稱; 麽,母稱 (麽 is also written 改). 耨斡 *neu-e* means 'earth', 麽 *mo* means 'mother' 后土 means 'all producing earth', as in 皇天后土 'all ruling heaven, all producing earth'. Ji Shi proposed that 𘲍 𘲈 means 'wife', so 𘲍 is more generally 'female person' 𘲈 ‹ku› is 'man, person' 𘲍 𘲋 ‹mó:t› means 'women', with the plural suffix 𘲋 ‹t›. Cf. 𘲍 𘲎 ‹mó bo.qo› 'daughter', 𘲎 ‹bo.qo› 'son, child'; 𘲍 𘲎 𘲏 ‹mó bo.ha.án› 'daughters'

2.022 𘲐 ‹cau›. 𘲐 appears in 𘲑 𘲒 𘲐 𘲓 𘲔 𘲕 𘲖 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu› 銀青崇祿大夫*ŋin cing chung lu dai fu*; 𘲗 𘲘 𘲙 𘲐 𘲓 𘲔 𘲕 𘲖 ‹gi.m z.ï cau.úŋ l.uh dá.ai pu›. 金紫崇祿大夫 **gim zï chung lu dai fu*. 𘲐 also appears in the name 𘲐𘲚 ‹cau.iń› 嘲隱 *chauyin*, 𘲐𘲛 ‹cau.úr› 'army' = *Liaoshi* glossary 炒伍倆 **chauwur* 'warfare, to fight'.

2.023 𘲜 ‹iů›. Possibly an allograph of 𘲝 ‹iu›.

2.024 𘲞 ‹ėr›. Mnemonic from 而.

2.025 𘲟 xi. Mnemonic from 西.

2.026 𘲠 ‹ONE›. Reading unknown. In the emended sections of the Daozong inscription, 𘲡𘲢𘲣𘲤 ‹mu.em.se.gi› was rewritten 𘲠𘲣𘲤 ‹𘲠.se.gi›, suggesting that 𘲠 was pronounced 𘲡𘲢 ‹mu.em›. Chinggeltei 1986 noted that 'first' is 𘲥𘲦𘲧 ‹m.as.qu›, so 'one' might be **mas*. There is, however, little correlation between 'one' and 'first' in many languages, and no real evidence to support the reading of **mas* for 'one'

2.027 𘲨 Dotted form of 'one'

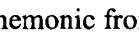
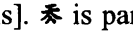
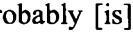
2.028 𘲩 ‹ś›. Examples: 𘲩𘲪 ‹ś.iŋ› ~ 𘲩𘲫𘲪 ‹ś.i.iŋ› ~ 𘲩𘲬 ‹śi.ŋ› 聖 **shing*; 𘲩𘲭𘲮 ‹ś.a.an› 山 **shan*; 𘲩𘲭𘲯 ‹ś.a.rí›: a Kitan title transcribed 沙里 *sha-li* and translated 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant'; 𘲩𘲥𘲫 ‹śi.m.i›: Kitan name written in Chinese 審密 Shenmi; 𘲩𘲭 ‹ś.ên› 'new'

2.029 𘲰 ‹FIVE› [tau] 'five' 𘲰𘲱𘲲 ‹tau.lí.a› corresponds to 卯 *mao* in the twelve branches, and the zodiac animal 'hare, rabbit' Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 討 **tau*, 'five'; 陶里 **tauli* 'hare' On the basis of this, 𘲰 is read ‹tau› and 𘲱 ‹lí›, giving ‹tau.lí.a› for 'hare' Cf. 𘲳 𘲰 ‹jau tau›, a transcription of *zhaotao* 'bandit suppression commissioner'.

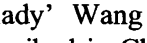
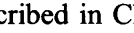
2.030 . Dotted form of 'five'

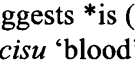
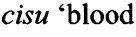
2.031 ‹ts›. ‹ts.i g.úr:un› 'belonging to the state of Qi' ‹ts.i ś.ui g.ün› ~ ‹z.i ś.ui g.ün› 齊水郡 *cishueigün 'Qishui prefecture' Used in a narrow transcription of the Chinese initial [ts].

2.032 ‹tėn›. Mnemonic from 天.

2.033 ‹NINE› [is]. is part of the word  ‹c.is.de.bo.ń› 'filial piety', so is probably [is] or perhaps [isu], cf. Mo. *yisü ~ yisün* 'nine' Liu Fengzhu 1983b noticed that ‹pu.is.ińˊ› is the Kitan transcription of 夫人 *fužin 'lady' Wang Hongli 1986 suggested ‹is.g.ún› is the Kitan word transcribed in Chinese as 乙室堇 *yishïgin. Note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name  ‹is.g.i› 乙室己; *yi-shi-ji* **išigi,* which strongly suggests *is (or iš) for . It also occurs in  ‹ci.is› 'blood relation', cf, Mo. *cisu* 'blood'

2.034 Dotted form of 'nine'

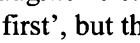
2.035 Reading unknown. Aisin Gioro 2004:177 suggests might mean 'the next [son, daughter etc.]' In Xu 51, the eldest child is referred to as  ‹m.as.qú› 'first', but the youngest is not  ‹YOUNG.qú› 'young', as usual, but 108. 035 might be an allograph of 108.

2.036 ‹xu›. *Research* explained  ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ ś.iaŋ g.ün› as 龍虎衛上將軍 **lunghu wei shang gianggün* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guards' Cf.  ‹xu.û g.ün› 護軍 **hu gün* 'military protector'; ‹xu.û b.û› 戶部 **hubu* 'ministry of revenue'

2.037 ‹di›. In 皇帝 **hongdi* 'emperor'

2.038

2.039 ‹kåi›. Mnemonic from 开.

2.040 ‹WEST›. Reading unknown. Suggestions include *ör, hörene* or *uru*. There is no evidence for any of these readings, except similarity to Mongol.  as '‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss› 'the bureau of punishments 招討司 *zhaotaosi* of the north west' Wang Hongli 1986, Toyoda 1991, 1992. The 'western capital' is ‹s.i g.iŋ› < 西京 **si ging*. However,

 ‹[NORTH ~ UPPER] [SOUTH/LOWER] u.ur› is presumably the common expression 'the northern and southern administrations', so it is not clear if means 'west' or 'south' Perhaps the directions were expressed by such terms as forward, backward, upper, lower and so on. The terms for the directions in Jurchen are also isolates, and may shed some light on the directions in Kitan. The Jurchen terms are *juleši, fulisi, fanti* and *uliti.* Kiyose 1977, 590-594, of which the final *ši* and *ti* may be (ablative?) suffixes.

2.041 Reading unknown. On the canopy of the Prince of Xu inscription, ‹292.u ś.eu.kå on.a.án› corresponds to 甘露降 'sweet dew descended' ‹ś.eu.kå› must mean 'dew' On the basis of Mo. *sigüder ~ sigüderi* 'dew', *Research* suggested ‹der› for

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2.047 ‹hor›. Ji Shi noticed that in ‹bo.qo hor.bo.ń x.eu s.ai poŋ›, ‹bo.qo› is 'son' and ‹s.ai poŋ› is 採訪 *caifang* 'investigation commissioner' So ‹hor.bo.ń› must be a name, probably 曷魯本 *Holubun*, which is common in the *Liaoshi.* Liu Fengzhu noticed that in the Yelü Dilie inscription, ‹x.eu› is a transcription of 耶律吼 Yelü Hou. His son was called ‹hor.bo›. This name is transcribed in the Chinese text as 何魯不 **holubu.* Aisin Gioro suggests ~ ‹hor› ~ ‹hor.u› means 'people 民'

2.048 ‹nėn›. Mnemonic from 年 .

2.049 Research noted that 大同郡 *datongjun* **datunggün* is written ‹t.039 tu.uŋ g.ün›, so is probably an allograph of ‹ai›.

2.050 ‹li›. Mnemonic from 吏 .

2.051 ‹ha›. appears in ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan, khaghan' The animal corresponding to 寅 *yin* in the heavenly branches is 'tiger', in Kitan ‹qa.ha.as›. This may be related to the Chinese term 獸王 *shouwang* 'king of the beasts, tiger'

2.052 ‹RECORD›. is only found in the word ‹RECORD.gi› 'record', with various suffixes. ‹RECORD.g.u.ji› is perhaps a *nomen actoris*: 'the person who recorded, the recorder' ‹RECORD.gi› is commonly seen in the expression ‹RECORD.gi.le.gi TEXT.ú› 誌銘 'epitaph, tomb inscription' and ‹RECORD.g.én te.gu› 'the inscription says' (誌曰).

2.053 ‹qa›. appears in the word for *khan/khaghan* ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan' Cf. ‹qa.an g.ia n.u› 韓家奴 Han Jianu, a personal name. 韓家奴 is also transcribed ‹qa.an g.ia ni.u›. This suggests that *q* 'back k' and *h* 'back g' were fricatives.

2.054 ‹mù›. Mnemonic from 木 .

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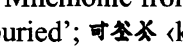
2.057 ‹xo›. The Kitan title of the Taishuzu inscription 義和仁壽皇太叔哀冊文 is: ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud te.ge.er ŋ.i hó ź.in ś.eu.u hoŋ tai ś.iú z.ú.úr g.en:ún c.ah (w.un)› 'Eulogy for the Late Great Yelü Yi He Ren Shou Huangtaishuzu' corresponds to 和. One would expect 和 MC **hua* to have shifted to **xuo* or **xo* in Liao Chinese. ‹te.ge.er› means 'deceased'

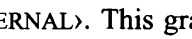
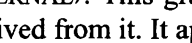
2.058 ‹mi›

2.059 ‹uni›. corresponds to the cyclical term 丑 *chou* and the zodiac animal 'ox' Toyoda 1991, 1992 suggested that ‹TWO DAY:en s.uni tu.úr.bun› means 'he died on the night of the second day' Liu Zhou Zhao and Zhu 1995 agreed with Toyoda, giving the examples ‹s.uni po:do› 'at night time' and ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'. Cf. Mo. **söni* 'night' ‹uni› is the Kitan word for 'ox', cf. Mo. *üniye* 'cow'.

2.060 . Allograph of 061.

2.061 ‹kė›. Mnemonic from 可. ‹kė.d.ha.ai› 殯 'to be placed in a coffin, to be buried';  ‹kė.d:er› 'buried'

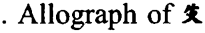
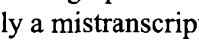
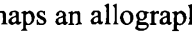
2.062 ‹iáŋ›. often appears in transcriptions from Chinese: ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui s.iáŋ g.ün› 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwu wei jiangjun* **gim ŋu wei zianggün* 'general of the imperial insignia guard'

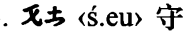
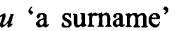
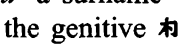
2.063 ‹ETERNAL›. This graph corresponds to Chinese 永'eternal' and is probably derived from it. It appears in the Daozong and Xuanyi inscriptions in the Kitan terms for 永福陵 Yongfuling, the name of the tomb in which they were buried. It also appears on the back of a bronze mirror known as the 寶坻鏡 *Baodijing*: ‹s.en ETERNAL u t.oi›, of which the first word is 壽 'long life' There is also a coin from the Changshou 長壽 period with a similar inscription:  . The Daozong inscription contains the phrase  interpreted as 'heaven long [time] earth eternal' = 'heaven and earth are eternal'

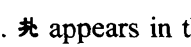
2.064 ‹lu›. Allograph of ‹lu›. Wu Yingzhe 2005a notes that with a dot is probably a mistranscription.

2.065 Perhaps an allograph of 116.

2.066 ‹tủ›. Mnemonic from 土.

2.067 ‹eu›.  ‹ś.eu› 守 **sheu;*  ‹c.eu› 州 **zheu* 'prefecture', ‹l.eu› 婁 **leu* 'a surname' is more likely [əu] than [ou] because it is followed by the genitive ‹en› rather than ‹on›. It is also common in Kitan words: ‹eu.ul› 'cloud', cf. Mo. *egüle* ~ *egülen*;  ‹eu.úr› 'years of age 歲'

2.068 ‹us›. appears in the expressions ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR› 四字功臣 'four character meritorious official' and similar expressions.  ‹us.gi› must mean 'characters, graphs, writing'; the proposed reading of ‹us.gi› is based on Mongol *üsüg* '*id.*' Ji Shi 1990 suggested  ‹us.gi hur.ú› 'controller of writing' refers to the Hanlin academy.  ‹us.gi hur.iú:un ui KNOW.i› corresponds to 總知翰林院事 'official in general control of the matters of the Hanlin academy' 103 is an allograph of 068.

2.069 ‹rí›. appears in the word  ‹ś.a.rí› in the Langjun inscription. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙 里，郎君也 '*sha-li* means *langjun* [court

attendant]' 𘰾 should be ‹rí› rather than *li as it does not appear in Chinese words.

2.070 𘰿 ‹w›. 𘰿 appears in Chinese words such as 𘰿𘰴 ‹wu.un› 文 *wun, 𘰿𘰽 ~ 𘰿𘰵 ‹w.u ~ w.uh› 武 *wu, 𘰼𘰾 𘰿𘰴 ‹c.ah w.un› 冊文 *chaiwun 'text of inscription' 𘰿 is more likely to be [w] rather than [v] or [ʊ]. There is no evidence for [v] in either Kitan or Chinese at the time.

2.071 𘱀 ‹oŋ›. *Research* suggested *uaŋ for 𘱀, but its genitive suffix is 𘰷 ‹on›, not 𘰹 ‹an›, suggesting the main vowel is [o], not [ua].

2.072 𘱁 Allograph of 𘰶 101. ‹EAST›. 𘰻 𘱁 𘰺𘰸𘰼𘰽 𘰾𘰽 𘰾𘰼𘰴 𘰴𘰿 ‹NORTH EAST ni.ó.ho:en ủ:en s.êŋ.un› '*xiangwen* of the of the north east route' = 東北路詳穩 (Zong 13). 𘰺𘰸𘰼𘰽 ‹ńi.ó.ho› is a form of the word for 'division, tribal division, route, circuit'

2.073 𘱂 ‹ên›. 𘰿𘱂 ‹ki.ên› 乾 *kien, 𘰿𘱂 ‹ki.ên› 縣 *hien 'county'; 𘰾𘰿𘱂 ‹s.ie.ên› 仙 *sien 'immortal' In Chinese the vowel was probably fronted by the medial -i-, so [iɐn].

2.074 𘰽 ‹tir›. 𘰽𘰶 ‹tir.a› or 𘰽𘰹 ‹tir.i›, a Kitan name written in Chinese 帖剌 *Tiela* (Ji Shi 1996) or 鐵離 *Tieli* (Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995). Cf. 𘰽𘰶 𘰸𘰻𘰺 ‹tir.a ri.g.ińˀ› 帖剌夷離堇 'the tribal chief (*yilijin*) Tiela' Also: 𘰽𘰼 ‹tir.bun› a Kitan name written in Chinese 迪里鉢 Dilibo. (Zhao and Bao 2001).

2.075 𘰼 ‹hoŋ›. 𘰼 mainly appears in 𘰼𘰾 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor' from Chinese 皇帝 *hongdi, and characters such as 黃. Note 𘰼 𘰾𘰴 ‹hoŋ di:in› 'of the emperor'; 𘰼 𘰾𘰴 ‹hoŋ di:en› 'of the emperor', with different genitive suffixes 𘰴 ‹en› and 𘰴 ‹in›.

2.076 𘰵 ‹ho›. 𘰵 appears in 𘰿 𘰷𘰵 ‹GOLD hu.ho› 'gold crow', as *Research* pointed out. Liu Fengzhu 1983b suggested the reading *haha ~ *hehe for 𘰷𘰵, noting the Jurchen word *gaha*, Ki. 157 'crow' Ji Shi 1982a suggested 𘰵 be read *gə*. As a verbal ending, it follows stems with the vowel [o]. Note 𘰵𘰼𘰽𘰺 ‹ho.le.bo.ńˀ› 'first day(s) of the lunar month 朔' and 𘰵𘰼𘰽𘰺 𘰼𘰻𘰵 ‹ho.le.bo.ńˀ ci.ge.ho›, a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions 'together with preface 並序' 𘰼𘰻𘰵 ‹ci.ge.ho› may be related to 𘰼 ‹ci› 'write' The semantic field of 𘰵𘰼𘰽𘰺 ‹ho.le.bo.ńˀ› is 'first, in front of' The name 𘰵𘰼𘰽𘰺 ‹ho.le.bo.ńˀ› probably means 'the first [son, child]'

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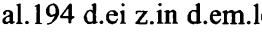
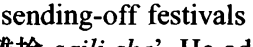
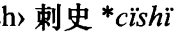
2.080 ‹ii›. looks similar to ‹ho› 076, but the horizontal stroke is extended through the downstroke. Chinggeltei 1992 discovered that is a suffix, similar in use to ‹ai› and ‹ei›. For example,  ‹THREE YEAR:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ, qa.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju:bun› 'in the third year [of the Tianjuan period], by special advancement, having been granted the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞, he was promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han' The suffix ‹bun› is one of a series indicating the past tense, used at the end of sentences. ‹ii› is one of a series of converb suffixes used in subordinate clauses.

2.081 ‹MONTH›. The Chinese texts give **sayir* ~ **sar* as the Kitan word for 'moon', 'month': 武珪 Wu Gui, 燕北雜記 *Yanbei zaji* [Miscellaneous notes on Yanbei]: 七月十三日至十五日 迎節, 送節, 哭節, 遼人呼為賽離捨 'on the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*' He adds '賽離 *saili* means 'moon, month'; 捨 *she* means 'good' The *Liaoshi* writes the same word 賽咿兒 *saiyier:* 五月重五日 國語謂是日討賽咿兒. 討,五; 賽咿兒; 月也: "the fifth day of the *chongwu* festival in their language they call this day 討賽咿兒 *tao saiyier.* 討 *tao* means 'five', 賽咿兒 *saiyier* means 'month' " is common within a word, but it is possible a mistranscription for . Note the graph , which was not distinguished from in *Research*, and is not clearly distinguished in many copies of the inscriptions. apparently means 'tent' in the sense of 'lineage, house, household' Its reading, and its relationship with , if any, is not known. Cf. 2.379.

2.082 ‹y›: used to transcribe Chinese medial -ü-. ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó› 'Empress Xuanyi 宣懿皇后' ‹y.e› transcribes 越 *yue* and similar syllables. See also ‹û› 2.226.

2.083 ‹ss›. Transcribes Chinese characters such as 司 **sï* and 刺 **cï,* clearly indicating the vowel in such words was [ï] rather than [i], and that Kitan had no affricate [tsh].  ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空 **sheusïkung*

'minister of works'; ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› 開府義同三司 **kaifu ngitung samcï* 'commander unequalled in honour'; ‹ss sh› 刺史 **cïshï* 'regional chief'

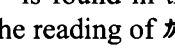
2.084 ‹ra›.  ‹ei.ra.u.ud› was the Kitan form of 耶律 Yelü. ‹ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh› is 耶律固 Yelü Gu, the author of the Daozong, Xuanyi and other epitaphs. Cf. Su He 1979; 1981. This graph seems to be associated with graphs with the vowel [a].

2.085 ‹SIX›. Reading unknown. Cf. Jurchen **nilhun* Ki. 651; Ma. *niolhon* 'the sixteenth day of the first month', so perhaps **nil/nir.* The word for 'sixth' is found in the inscriptions, but it is written , and does not indicate the reading of .

2.086 Dotted form of .

2.087 ‹tz›. Only used in Chinese words; transcribes the retroflex affricate [tʂ]. ‹tz› 職 **zhï*, ‹tz.iŋ› 政 **zhing*, ‹tz paŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› 職方郎中 **zhïfang langzhung* 'director of the bureau of operations'

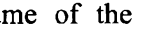
2.088

2.089 ‹zù›. appears in the reign title ‹zù.ge.én› 'Tianfu' Aisin Gioro 2004:51 notes that the title for a lady of high rank, 別胥 *biexu,* was normally written  ‹b.y.z.iú› ~ ‹p.y.z.iú›, but in Gu it is written ‹p.y.zù.iú›, suggesting that is similar to ‹z›. is only found in Kitan words. In the rhymed sections of the Xingzong inscription, rhymes with ‹u›.

2.090 ‹ó›. In *Research*, the vowels were divided into four types: the [a] group; the [e] group; the [ó] group and the [û] group. Cf. 1.24. [ó] is mainly used in Kitan words. It can exchange with ‹u›, ‹û›, ‹iû›, and ‹ô›, none of which appear in syllable initial position. ‹ó› and ‹ú› can appear in initial position.

2.091

2.092 ‹yǔ›. ‹yǔ.úr ai› 'the first year [of a reign period] 元年' The reading ‹yǔ› is common, based on the presumption that is a transcription of 元 *yuan*, but this seems unlikely. Mnemonic from 尤.

2.093 ‹gė›. *Research* identified  ‹de.gė g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› as 燕京留守 **Yenging liushieu* 'the viceroy of Yanjing' so = 燕 'swallow', the name of the ancient state around modern Beijing, the southern capital of the Liao. Ji Shi pointed out that is also written and suggested it means 'down, under, lower, below' So   ‹de.gė g.iŋ› is the lower capital, Yanjing, as opposed to the upper capital Shangjing. Chinggeltei thinks that should be translated 'south', but there are no words for 'south' like ‹de.gė› in other Altaic languages.

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2.097 ‹úr›. The name 控骨里**kungguli* is transcribed ‹ku.uŋ.úr› in Zongjiao. Toyoda 1998: ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› 'thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋' ‹heu.úr› and ‹n.am.úr› are clearly related to Mo. *qabur* 'spring' and *namur* 'autumn'

2.098 ‹al›. Cf the following verbal endings:

	‹siȯ.ha.al.hu›		‹te.ge.le.gi›
	‹kė.d.ha.al.hu›		‹zủ.ge.le.gi›
	‹dau.ul.ha.al.hu›		‹te.ge.le.ge.le.gi›
	‹le.ha.al.hu:an›		‹me.se.ge.le.g:en›

In these examples from Chinggeltei 1992, ‹ha› corresponds to ‹ge›; ‹hu› corresponds to ‹gi›; ‹an› corresponds to ‹en› and ‹al› corresponds to ‹l› [el~le]. We can also see that generally appears after ‹ha›; it also appears in front of ‹hu›. Cf. the Mo. causative suffixes *alγa* and *elge*.

2.099 ‹ad›. In ‹n.ad.bu.ad›, the Kitan word for 捺鉢 *nabo*, also written 納鉢, 納撥, 納跋, 剌鉢, 納寶. (Wang Hongli 1990). Chinggeltei suggests *nabo* is related to Mo. *negü-* 'to nomadise' and *baγu-* 'to settle down, to encamp' Cf. Toyoda 1998: ‹heu.úr n.ad.bú› = 春捺鉢 'spring *nabo*' ‹n.ad.bú› may be a plural form.

2.100 ‹én›. Allograph of ‹én›.

2.101 ‹YOUNGER BROTHER› [deu]. In the Langjun inscription we read ‹qa.ha:an deu› which corresponds to 皇弟 'younger brother of the emperor' A number of combinations with ‹deu› are found: ‹deu ai› 'uncle; younger brother of ones father 叔'; ‹deu ia› 'younger brother(s) and elder brother(s) 弟兄' is also used in ‹deu.úr› 'with, together with': ‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci› 'after he drank wine with the local officials' (Langjun 4). It also seems to be used to translate 同 'together' in 同知 'associate administrator': ‹ś.iú m.i ű.n deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii› 'having been appointed to the position of associate administrator in the bureau of military affairs' (Di 20). The graph KNOW 142 corresponds to 知 'know' i.e. 'to be in charge of' 072 is perhaps an allograph of 101.

2.102 ‹cu›. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 point out that in Zongjiao, ‹cu.n› is a name transcribed in Chinese as 崇古德 Chonggude **chunggudei.* This suggests must ‹cu›. However, ‹cu.n› also transcribes 院 *yuan*, so *Research* suggested **ue* for . The matter remains unresolved. Perhaps two similar but separate graphs are involved.

2.103 Allograph of 068 above.

2.104 ‹dz›. ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› **gungzhiu* 'princess'; also written ‹g.uŋ c.iú›, suggesting ‹dz› and ‹c› must have been pronounced similarly. ‹dź› 354 is perhaps a variety of ‹dz› 104. Also in ‹dz.ur.er› 'second [in a series]; ‹dzi.g.en› 'right [side], perhaps 'east' These words are also found with instead of . Cf. 087 ‹tz› 104 ‹dz› 354 ‹dź›

2.105 ‹ud›. *Research* considered ‹ud› an allograph of ‹uŋ›. Gao Lujia 1988b recognised ‹ei.ra.u.ud› as Yelü, and suggested the original form was **yila'ut.* Liu Fengzhu 1984a interpreted ‹ud.ur g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› as 東京留守 'the *liushou* [regent] of the eastern capital' has a variant form ‹ud.ur.iń›. Ji Shi thinks that should be read **doru.* Toyoda 1992 suggested **dorona,* based on Mongol.

2.106 ‹uŋ›. An allograph of ‹uŋ›. ‹g.uŋ› 公 **gung* 'duke' but ‹g.iu.uŋ› 宮 **giung* 'palace'; ‹x. uŋ› 空 **kung* 'empty'

2.107 ‹oi›. This graph appears in 元帥府 *yuanshuaifu* ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.oi pu› 'headquarters of a marshal' The reading of 帥 in Liao Chinese is uncertain, but is different from ‹ui› or ‹ai›. It is used as a

converb suffix, in the series *ai, ei, ii, ui,* so ‹oi› seems reasonable. 𠂤 has an allograph 𠂤 347.

2.108 𠂤 Perhaps an allograph of 𠂤 035.

2.109 𠂤 ‹e› 𠂤 is found in the word 只𠂤 ‹û e› 于越 *yuyue* 'a tribal title, the highest position of honour' and 𡿨𠂤 几𡿨 𠂤 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ› 越國王 'prince of the state of Yue'. 𠂤 is an allograph of 𠂤 2.348.

2.110 𠂤

2.111 𠂤

2.112 𠂤 ‹ge›. See the comments under 2.090. *Research* divided the vowels of the suffixes into four groups. See 1.35. 𠂤 ‹ha› represented the [a] group and 𠂤 ‹ge› represented the [e] group. Since we know that 𠂤 is ‹ha›, 𠂤 must be ‹ge›.

2.113 𠂤 ‹ï›. Used in Chinese words after 𠂤 ‹s› and 𠂤 ‹z›, and optionally after 𠂤 ‹sh› and 𠂤 ‹ss›, to denote the retracted ‹ï› vowel: 𠂤𠂤 ‹sh.ï› 侍 **shï* 'to wait on'; 𠂤𠂤 ‹sh.ï› 事 **shï* 'matter', 𠂤𠂤 ‹s.ï› 子 **zï* 'son', 几𡿨 𠂤𠂤 𠂤𡿨 𠂤丙 ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› 國子祭酒 **gueizï zizieu* 'chancellor of the national university' 𠂤 353 is an allograph.

2.114 𠂤 ‹î› occurs in 騎 **gi* with apparently the value [i:]. See 2.352.

2.115 𠂤 ‹då›. Mnemonic from 达. This seems to be a sort of numeral; perhaps 'two, a couple' or 'some, several'

2.116 𠂤 Perhaps an allograph of 𠂤 065.

2.117 𠂤 Perhaps an allograph of 𠂤 118.

2.118 𠂤 ‹qú›. Cf. 𠂤 ‹qu› 246. 𠂤𠂤𠂤 ‹s.iau.qu› and 𠂤𠂤𠂤 ‹s.iau.qú› are both used to spell 甲 *jiă* 乙 *yĭ*, corresponding to 'blue'; 𠂤𠂤𠂤 ‹m.as.qu› and 𠂤𠂤𠂤 ‹m.as.qú› both mean 'first' The two endings *may* indicate the grammatical gender of the modified noun. *Research* suggested *ai* for 𠂤 as 𠂤𠂤 transcribes 冊 **chai* in 冊文 **chaiwun.* In this case 𠂤 may be a misreading of 𠂤. 𠂤 is also used in 冊 MC *chreak* and 伯 MC *paek,* both of which ended in [k]. Wang Hongli 86 suggests 𠂤𠂤 and 𠂤𠂤 are read *čeɣ* and *beɣ.* 𠂤 is transcribed in this book as ‹ah›.

2.119 ‹dau›. appears in the sequence   ‹dau.u s.úŋ hoŋ di› 道宗 皇帝 'Emperor Daozong' This graph also appears on the canopy of the epitaph of Daozong, the first two words of which are . The first graph means 'great'; there is a general consensus that ‹dau.úr.ún› means 'middle, central' In Langjun, we find this word in the sequence   ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› corresponding to 仲冬 'mid-winter'

2.120 Possibly an allograph of ‹iáŋ› 2.315.

2.121 This graph appears in the handcopy of the Renyi inscription, where corresponds to 軍 *gün, normally written . Presumably a mistranscription. Cf. 063.

2.122 ‹ai› ~ ‹k.ai› ~ ‹x.ai› 開 *kai 'open', ‹dá.ai› ~ ‹d.ai.i› ~ ‹t.ai.i› 大 *dai 'big, great' ‹ai› means 'year' and also 'father' The plural of 'father' (men, males) is ‹ai:d›, but the plural of 'years' is ‹ai:se›. 牌 *pai is written both ‹p.ai› and ‹p.ah›.

2.123 ‹ár›. Liu Fengzhu 1987a suggested ‹c.ar› in the Langjun inscription corresponded to 向 *xiang* 'all along, in the past', and suggested be read *cala cf. Ma. *cala*. Chinggeltei 1992 discovered that the grammatical function of and may be the same, a perfective suffix. Aisin Gioro suggests *ar* and *er*. In a new article (unpublished) Chinggeltei has given more evidence for reading ‹ar› and ‹er›.

2.124

2.125 ‹iáu›. Possibly an allograph of ‹iau›. Ji Shi interpreted   ‹a.án c.iáu.un ss sh› as 安州之刺史 'prefect of Anzhou' (Xu 49). 州 *zhou* is normally written ‹c.eu›, so if this identification is correct we have ‹c.iáu› ~ ‹c.eu›. The stem ‹p.iáu-›, which seems to mean 'die', is only found spelled with , never with , so and might be two separate graphs, not allographs.

2.126

2.127 ‹an›. Allograph of ‹an› 011. Cf.   ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün› (Zhong) ~   ‹l.an l.iŋ g.ün› (Xu) 'Lanlingjun (Lanling prefecture)蘭陵郡'

2.128 ‹zải›. Mnemonic from 在.

2.129

2.130 ‹xa›. occurs in ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa ja.aŋ sh› 同中書門下平章事 *tungzhungshiu munhia pingzhangshï* 'joint manager of affairs with the secretariat-chancellery' and ‹xa.ia g.úr› 'name of a state: Xixia 西夏' (Toyoda 1989).

2.131 ‹u›. is one of the several graphs which transcribe Chinese [u]: ‹ŋ.u› 'I' 吾 **ŋu*, ‹pu.u› 副 **fu* 'deputy', ‹w.u› 武 **wu* 'martial, military' ‹u› may have been similar to ‹o›:   ‹p.o.ju› ~   ‹p.u.ju› are the stem forms of 'become, be appointed to, be promoted to'; ‹p.o.ju.ha› ~ ‹p.u.ju.ha› the stem forms of the causative of the above: 'to set up, appoint, establish'

2.132 Possibly an allograph of 133.

2.133 ‹m›. occurs both in Chinese and Kitan: ‹m.i› 密 **mi* 'secret'   ‹m.a› 馬 **ma* 'horse', ‹gi.m› 'gold' 金 **gim.* Kitan words: ‹mo.ri› 'horse',   ‹m.as.qu› 'first',   ‹m.o› 'big, great' ‹śi.m.i› 'Shenmi: name of a tribe 審密';   ‹m.o mu.u.ji› 'Kitan term corresponding to Chinese 'sacred, holy 神聖' ‹m.án.ún se.m.i› 'to go hunting' (Langjun), ‹m.án.ún ku› 'hunter';   ‹m.o bo.qo› 'eldest child, eldest son 長子';   ‹m.ó.qu› 'first [son], eldest [son] 長子'

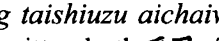
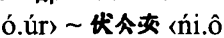
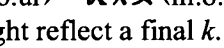
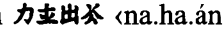
2.134 ‹TWO›. The stem of the word for 'second' in the inscriptions is   ‹c.ur›. Cf. MMo. *jir ~jur* 'two', Ma. *juwe* 'two'; *juru* 'a pair' also occurs within a word, where it is presumably used phonetically ‹jůr›.

2.135 ‹TWO♂›. Dotted form of : ‹TWO qa.ha:ad› 'two khans'

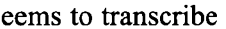
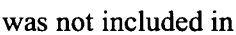
2.136 ‹dǒ›. Mnemonic from

2.137 ‹rěn› appears in the Renxian inscription, in ‹t.iu.rěn.iń oŋ› 'the prince t.iu.rěn.iń'. Ji Shi noted that 纥鄰 Jiulin was the Kitan name of 仁先 Renxian, according to his *Liaoshi* biography. ‹t.iu.rěn› is also in the reign titles 大康 Dakang 'Great Prosperity' and 天德 Tiande 'Heavenly Virtue', so ‹t.iu.rěn› should be some auspicious word like 'prosperity, health, virtue' One of the more puzzling aspects of this graph is that it also appears in the Kitan transcription of the Chinese word 樞密 **shiumi*, written both   ‹ś.iú m.i› and   ‹ś.iú mo.rěn›. 密 was

MC **mit*, so presumably had a final *r* in Late Tang NW Chinese. Perhaps this is an early loanword borrowed in pre-Liao times.

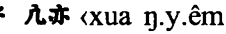
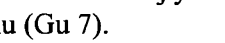
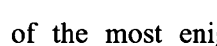
2.138 ‹iû›. The title of the Taishuzu inscription is  ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i t.e.er ŋ.i xo ź.in ś.eu.u oŋ tai ś.iû z.ú.un g.en.ún c.ah›, corresponding to 義和仁壽皇太叔祖哀冊文 **ŋi ho žinshieu hong taishiuzu aichaiwun.* must be 叔 and ‹iû› similar to ‹iú›. 叔 is written both ‹ś.iû› and  ‹ś.eu.iû›. The Kitan word for 'tribe, division 部' has the following forms:  ‹n.iû.úr› ~ ‹n.ó.úr› ~ ‹ńi.ó.úr› ~  ‹ńi.ô.úr›. 叔 was *syuk* in MC, and the use of in this word might reflect a final *k*.

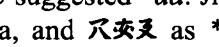
2.139 ‹na›. This occurs in ‹na.ha.án.er› 'maternal uncle', which Ji Shi 82 related to Mo. *nayaču* 'relatives on mother's side' ‹na.am› transcribes 男 *nan* **nam* 'male, man, rank of nobility, baron'

2.140 ‹en›. Usually used as a genitive suffix. There are six graphs which are used to indicate the genitive preceded by various vowels: ‹en›, ‹an›, ‹on›, ‹un›, ‹in› and perhaps ‹n› and ‹ń›. ‹en› often follows a consonant or semivowel. Chinese words with medial -i- such as 陳 **chien* or 臣 **chien* 'official' are written either  ‹c.en› or  ‹c.in›.

2.141 ‹SEVEN›. Liu Fengzhu 1993c suggests this word might be related to Mo. *dolo ɣan* 'seven' It seems to transcribe ‹dolo› in some names. There is also a dotted form, which was not included in the original *Research* list.

2.142 ‹KNOW›. corresponds to 知 'know' in official titles such as 知事 'to know matters', i.e. 'administrator'. It is often followed by ‹t› as in 'administrators'

2.143 ‹xua›. The expression  ‹xua ŋ.y.êm› occurs in Ling 13 and 20. Toyoda 1991 suggested  ‹ŋ.y.êm› might be 嚴 **ŋiam*, and so   ‹hua ŋ.y.êm› would be 華嚴 Huayan. 華 is MC **xuae*, so presumably Liao **xua*.    ‹xua ŋ.y.êm n.u s.iaŋ g.ün› would be 華嚴奴將軍 General Huayannu (Gu 7).

2.144 ‹ún›. This is one of the most enigmatic graphs. Suggestions include *u, da, in* and *en*. appears in  ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› in *Langjun*, where it corresponds to 仲冬 'mid-winter' *Research* 1977 suggested **u, Research* 1985 suggested **da*. Ji Shi 1982 suggested **in*. Liu Fengzhu 1983b read **da*, and as **duanda*, ‹qid.ún.i› as

**kiday,* and 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹qatun.ún.n› as **kadan.* Wang Hongli 1986 analyzed 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹qid.ún.i› as **xit-en-i.* From the changes made to the Daozong inscription, we can see that 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹hó.le.b.ún› is the equivalent of 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹hó.le.bun› and 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹al.le.b.ún› is the equivalent of 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹al.le.bun›. On the canopy of the Daozong inscription we read 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹m.o c.i.is.de.b.ún›, but in the main part of the inscription 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹m.o c.i.is.de.bun›. Clearly 𘲢𘲢 = 𘲢 ‹bun›, so 𘲢 must be [un]. Here it is written 𘲢 ‹ún› to distinguish it from 𘲢 ‹un›, the genitive suffix. 𘲢𘲢 ‹ún.n› 'now'; 𘲢𘲢 ~ 𘲢𘲢 ‹ún.e› 'now'; 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji› 'the present sacred one [monarch, ruler] 今聖'

2.145 𘲢 ‹FORTY›. 𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢□ 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹FORTY ONE:de ku.kả û.u o.oi□ u.ur ś.a.rí rẻŋ.i› (Xu 7) seems to correspond to the entry in the *Liaoshi* biography of Yelü Wotela: 年四十一, 始補本班郎君 'in the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court gentleman in the same bureau' (Ji Shi 1996). If that is so, 𘲢 must mean 'forty' Its reading is unknown.

2.146 𘲢 ‹giủ›. 𘲢𘲢 ‹giủ.ün› transcribes 君 *jun *gün*, so perhaps 𘲢 is ‹giủ›. Its meaning is unknown.

2.147 𘲢 ‹jú› Allograph of 149.

2.148 𘲢 ‹jú› Allograph of 149.

2.149 𘲢 ‹ju›. 𘲢 𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› 職方郎中 **zhïfong langgün;* 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› 中京 **zhungging* 'the central capital' It often appears also in Kitan words: 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹ta.ha.ai o.ju.hu› 'covered, closed 掩閉'; 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢- ‹p.o.ju.ha-› base form of 'became, promoted to the position of' (passive/causative).

2.150 𘲢 ‹ja›. 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï› 平章政事 **pingzhang zhingshï;* 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› 中書門下平章事 **zhiung shiu mun hia pingzhangshï.* 𘲢 often appears in Kitan words. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹ja.ri.qó› is related to Mo. *jerge* 'rank, title' Ji Shi translated 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹ja.ri.qo› as 'prime minister 宰相'

2.151 𘲢 ‹hu›. *Research* noted that 𘲢 appeared in: 𘲢𘲢 𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢 ‹ś.aŋ pu hu.un tu.uŋ g.ün oŋ› 尚父混同郡王. 𘲢𘲢 ‹hu.un› corresponds to 混 **huen.* 𘲢 ‹hu› is also very frequent in Kitan words. 𘲢𘲢 ‹hu.ho› 'crow'

 ‹hu.ur.er› 'third', ‹bo.hu.án› 'children' It often appears in verbal morphology, where it is in opposition to ‹gi› as suffix.

2.152 ‹ji›. and 153 are allographs, as is, probably, 337. *Research* 77 suggested **sun; Research* 85 suggested **ku*. Ji Shi suggested **sun* from the cursive form of Chinese 孫 *sun*. Liu Fengzhu suggested **gu* from Chinese 孤 *gu*. Chinggeltei noted that the graphs , and appear most frequently in verbal suffixes, with both back and front vowels. They are followed by suffixes such as ‹en› and ‹d›. So they might indicate a type of verbal noun. More recently the discovery of the name of the name ‹po.qo.ji› in Dilie, which is given in the *Liaoshi* as *Puguzhi* 蒲古只, indicates that must be something like ‹ji›. Chinggeltei has suggested that ‹ji› might indicate a verbal noun similar to Mongol *-ci.*

2.153 Allograph of 152.

2.154 ‹on›. Genitive suffix. follows words such as ‹g.ui oŋ:on› 'of the king of the country 國王' This word also appears initially in the word ‹on.a.án› 'descended'

2.155 ‹FIFTY›. Based on context, Ji Shi translated Ling 18 ‹eu.úr EIGHT p.iáu.er› as 'he died (?) at the age of fifty eight' ‹eu.úr› means 'years of age'

2.156

2.157

2.158

2.159 ‹DAY›. We read in the *Liaoshi,* "In the national language, the first day of the new year 正旦 is called 乃捏咿兒 *nai-nie-yi-er*. 乃 *nai* means first 正, 捏咿兒 *nie-yi-er* means 'day ~ sun 日'" In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read: "乃捏咿兒 *nai-nie-yi-er* means "the first day of the first month 正月朔旦". In Mo. *nara/n* is 'sun' and *edür* is 'day'

2.160 . Transcribes 九 *jiu* **gieu* 'nine', so may be ‹giu̯› (Aisin Gioro 2004:2).

2.161 ‹au›. Used in both Chinese and Kitan: ‹l.au.u g.iŋ:en l.iu ś.eu› 洛京之留守 **lauging leushieu* 'the *liushou* [regent,

viceroy] of Luojing' In Kitan words it occurs in 𐗀𐗃𐗄 ‹s.au.qu› 'blue' The 奥 *ao* in 略胡奥 *lüehu ao* 'the red woman' is presumably 𐗃 ‹au›. See Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:275, n.191. In the inscriptions 𐗃 ‹au› means 'elder sister'. A similar word, 𐗅 ‹aú› occurs in 𐗅𐗁 ‹aú.ui› '娘子 *niangzi*: a term of respect for a lady of high status'. 𐗃 and 𐗅 sometimes alternate, e.g. 𐗆𐗇𐗉𐗍𐗋𐗍 𐗀𐗅𐗍𐗋𐗍 ‹oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.aú.ul.hu› in Zhong 33 and Dao 23 is written 𐗆𐗇𐗉𐗍𐗋𐗍 𐗀𐗃𐗍𐗋𐗍𐗂 ‹oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.au.ul.hu.an› in Zhixian 16. Note also 𐗃𐗍𐗋𐗁 ‹au.ul.û.ui›, 𐗃𐗍𐗋𐗈𐗉 ‹au.ul.ha.ai›, 𐗃𐗍𐗋𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗏 ‹au.ul.ha.al.ún›, all forms of 𐗃𐗍𐗋 ‹au.ul›- 'to appoint'

2.162 𐗈 ‹c› ~ ‹ci› 𐗈𐗌 ‹ci.ŋ› 承, 成 **chieng,* 𐗈𐗏 ~ 𐗈𐗊 ‹c.in› ~ ‹c.en› 臣 **chien* 'official', 𐗈𐗀 ‹c.aŋ› 上 *shang*; 𐗈𐗃 [= 𐗈𐗆]‹c.ah› 冊 **chai;* 𐗈 𐗈 ‹ci ci› 'together with, *et cetera*, and others 等, 以及'; 𐗈𐗂 ‹ci.er› 'written, written by': used at the end of inscriptions immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription: 題'; 𐗈𐗂𐗆𐗄𐗇𐗉 ‹c.i.is.de.bo.ń›, 𐗈𐗂𐗆𐗄𐗇𐗍 ‹c.i.is.de.bun› 𐗈𐗂𐗆𐗄𐗇𐗉𐗏 ‹c.i.is.de.b.ún› 'filial piety'; 𐗈𐗂𐗆𐗄𐗇𐗍 𐗇𐗉𐗀 ‹c.i.is.de.bun bo.qo› 'filial son'; 𐗈𐗂𐗆 ‹ci.i.is› 'blood; blood relative, clansman, relative' (Ji Shi 1988).

2.163 𐗋 ‹ki› 𐗋𐗄 ‹ki.ên› transcribes 乾 **kien,* 縣 **hien* and 玄 **hüen,* suggesting there was no phonemic difference between [kh] and [x].

2.164 𐗌

2.165 𐗇 ‹gu›. 𐗇 is commonly used in the word 𐗎𐗇 ‹te.gu›, which introduces a quotation (曰). Liu Deng Han 95 noticed that in the Bozhou inscription, there is a space preceding 𐗀𐗂𐗇 𐗁𐗋𐗈. 𐗁𐗋 ‹g.úr› means 'country', so 𐗀𐗂𐗇 should be the name of a country. (Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995). As this inscription was written during the Jin, the use of the space in front of it to indicate respect can only indicate the Jin dynasty. 𐗀 is ‹n›, 𐗂 is ‹i›. The Chinese word 女真 *Nüzhen* appears to be a borrowing from Kitan, that is, how the Kitans referred to the Jurchens. The Mongols called them *Jürčid*; the Jurchen name for themselves was *alčun* 'gold' There is now general agreement that 𐗀𐗂𐗇 means 'Jurchen' Aisin Gioro suggests that the underlying word is a form of 女古 **nügu*, the Kitan word for 'gold' corresponding to Chinese 金 *jin* in the *Liaoshi* glossary. This would mean ‹nu.i.gu› for 𐗀𐗂𐗇 and ‹gu› for 𐗇

2.166 𐗐 ‹THREE›. Possibly [hur]. 'Third' is written 𐗉𐗑𐗂 ‹hu.ur.er›, 𐗉𐗑𐗊 ‹hu.ur.én›, 𐗁𐗂 ‹hur.er› or 𐗁𐗊 ‹hur.en› (Ji Shi 1983, Wang Hongli 1986). In Haitangshan, the ordinal numerals from first to eighth are spelt out.

These showed that the ordinal suffix is 𘮩 ‹er› ~ 𘮪 ‹én› which directly follows a numeral. 𘮩 ‹er› is used with masculine nouns and 𘮪 ‹én› with feminine nouns. 𘮫 ‹hur› and 𘮬𘮭 ‹hu.ur› are both used as the basic stem in 'third' Cf. Mo. *yurba/n.*

2.167𘮮. Dotted form of 𘮮 166: 𘮮 𘮯𘮩 ‹3♂ ai:d› 'three males, three fathers'

2.168 𘮰 ‹qo›. 𘮰 appears in 𘮱𘮰 ‹ńi.qo› 'dog' and 𘮲𘮰𘮳 ‹te.qo.a› 'hare' In the *Liaoshi* glossary 'dog' is 捏褐 **nieho,* cf. Mo. *noqai. Research* read 𘮱𘮰 as **nə-xəi* and 𘮲𘮰𘮳 as **t'-xəi-ɑ.* Liu Fengzhu 1983b read 𘮲𘮰𘮳 as **d aha.*. Chinggeltei 1992 writes 𘮱𘮰 as *nəxi ~ noxi*, and 𘮲𘮰𘮳 as *t'ɑxiɑ.* As Chinggeltei 1997 notes, reconstructions such as *daha, noxi, t'ɑxiɑ* show less reliance on the transcription values, and greater reliance on Mo. forms.

2.169 𘮴 ‹qó›. This graph only occurs in Kitan. Wang Hongli 1986 noticed that in the *Liaoshi* biography of 耶律斡特拉 Yelü Wotela, we read 北阻卜酋長磨古斯叛 "Mogusi, the chieftain of the northern Zubu, rebelled" Elsewhere in the *Liaoshi* the name of this tribe is given as 阻卜 *Zubu* or 朮不古 *Zhubugu.* In Xu 17 we find 𘮵𘮶𘮴 ‹ci.bu.qó› and 𘮵𘮶𘮴𘮷 ‹ci.bu.qó:on›, the genitive form, which seems to refer to the same tribe. 𘮴 is also in 𘮸𘮹𘮴 ‹ja.ri.qó› 'prime minister'

2.170 𘮺 ‹bải›. Mnemonic from 派. Aisin Gioro 2004:53 notes that a title written 𘮺 in Zhixian 7 is written 𘮻𘮼 ‹bả.i› in Renxian 4, which suggests its reading is **bai.* Ji Shi suggests it means 'licentiate, graduate of the imperial examination system'

2.171 𘮽 ‹da›. 𘮽𘮯 ‹da.ai› ~ 𘮽𘮯𘮼 ‹da.ai.i› transcribes 大 **dai.* In Kitan it appears in 𘮽𘮾𘮯 𘮿𘮸𘮬 𘯀 ‹da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY› 'the day the coffin was covered'

2.172 𘯁 ‹uh›. 𘯂𘯁 ‹w.uh› 武 *wu* 'martial, military', 𘯃𘯁 僕 ‹b.uh› **pu* 'servant', 𘯄𘯁 ‹l.uh› 祿 *lu* 'salary. 𘯁 ‹uh› is sometimes used in words which ended in *k* in MC.

2.173 𘯅

2.174 𘯆 ‹as›. In Langjun we find 𘯇𘯈𘯉 𘯊𘯋𘯆 ‹s.iau.qu qa.ha.as› corresponding to the year *jiayin*. The cyclical branch 寅 *yin* corresponds to the zodiac animal 'tiger' In the 燕北錄 *Yanbeilu* we read: 番兵以蔞珍思為號，漢語熊虎二字也 "the barbarian soldiers use the term 蔞珍思

louzhensi as their name; in Chinese this means 熊虎 bear and tiger" In a revised edition of the *Yanbeilu*, we read "the barbarian soldiers use the term 蕃珂忍 *fankeren* as their name, in Chinese this means 龍虎 'dragon and tiger' " Most researchers agree that "bear and tiger" should read "dragon and tiger" Many suggestions have been made to try to reconcile this passage with 𐲢𐲦𐲤 ‹qa.ha.as›, none very convincing. 𐲢𐲦 ‹qa.ha› can be identified with 'king', so 𐲢𐲦𐲤 ‹qa.ha.as› might mean 'king of the beasts 獸王' 𐲤𐲭 ‹as.ar› occurs in the reign title 𐲪 𐲤𐲭, corresponding to 青寧 *Qingning* 'clear and quiet'

2.175 𐲠 ‹êŋ›. Wang Hongli recognised 𐲫𐲠𐲣 as 詳穩 *xiangwen*, a title probably derived from Ch. 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general': 𐲫𐲠𐲣 sometimes corresponds to 將軍 'general' in the inscriptions. The possible derivation of 詳穩 *xiangwen* from 相公 *xianggong* is not likely. Several suggestions have been made for 𐲠: **əŋ, *kul, *aŋu.* Here 𐲠 is transcribed ‹êŋ› and 𐲫𐲠𐲣 ‹s.êŋ.un›. Chinggeltei 2002b has suggested 𐲫𐲠𐲣 may not be *xiangwen* at all. In the texts he examined, 𐲫𐲠 appears once, 𐲫𐲠𐲡 three times, 𐲫𐲠𐲣 twenty one times. 𐲫𐲠𐲣 does not appear with any suffixes, as one would expect from a noun.

2.176 𐲧 ‹bú›. Probably a allograph of 𐲧. In Renyi we read 𐲧 𐲓𐲭𐲗𐲪𐲣 𐲘𐲦𐲧 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i n.ad.bú›. 𐲓𐲭𐲗𐲪𐲣 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i› is the genitive form of 𐲓𐲭𐲗𐲪 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› 'Yelü' 𐲧 occurs in the expression 𐲤𐲗 𐲁𐲚 𐲘𐲦𐲧 ‹ORDO.u heu.úr n.ad.bú› 行宮春捺鉢 'travelling palace, *ordo*, spring *nabo*' 𐲘𐲦𐲧 ‹n.ad.bú› is *nabo*. Under 𐲦 ‹ad› 099, it was suggested that 𐲘𐲦 𐲅𐲦 ‹n.ad bu.ad› means *nabo*. If 𐲘𐲦𐲧 ‹n.ad.bú› is similar to 𐲘𐲦 𐲅𐲦 ‹n.ad bu.ad›, then 𐲧 = 𐲅𐲦 ‹bu.ad›, written here ‹bú›, but perhaps **bad.* Sometimes the suggestion is made that 𐲧 refers to the Xiao clan, the imperial maternal clan. The term Xiao has not been identified in the Kitan inscriptions. It seems to be a Chinese word to include a number of Kitan families who married into the Yelü clan.

2.177 𐲨 ‹rå›. Other suggestions: *lus, la, ris.* This graph is usually discussed in the context of 𐲱𐲪 ‹qid.i› and 𐲯𐲨 ‹xu.rå›. See 4.58.

2.178 𐲡 ‹ku›. Toyoda 1991 recognised that 𐲡 means 'man, person', and that 𐲯𐲗 𐲡 ‹p.u ku› corresponds to 臣 *chén* 'official' Liu 1995 noticed that 𐲡𐲶𐲙 ‹ku.uŋ.úr› corresponded to the name 控骨里 *kungguli*, confirming the value of 𐲡 as ‹ku›. Toyoda suggested the reading *kü'ün* cf. Mo. *kümün.* Chinggeltei noted that in the rhymes in the inscriptions, 𐲡 seems to have a [u] type vowel. The genitive form of 𐲡 ‹ku› is 𐲡𐲷𐲣 ‹ku.û.un›. Zongjiao 19

contains a quote from the *Book of Odes:* 𘮩𘮪 𘮫𘮬 𘮭𘮮 𘮯𘮰𘮱 𘮲𘮳 𘮴𘮵 𘮶𘮷𘮸 𘮹𘮺 ‹sh:de te.gu: as.ar n.ai.ci.er giù.ün ss hor.u ku.û.un ai mó› 𘮩 ‹sh› is 詩 *shi*, referring to the *Book of Odes*. 𘮫𘮬 ‹te.gu› introduces direct speech (曰). 𘮭𘮮 ‹as.ar› is 'peaceful, quiet' 𘮯𘮰𘮱 ‹n.ai.c.er› is 'harmonious' 𘮴𘮵 ‹hor.u› is 'people' 𘮶𘮷𘮸 ‹ku.û.un› is 'man' (genitive). 𘮲𘮳 ‹ai› is 'father', 𘮴 ‹mó› is 'mother' 𘮩𘮪 𘮫𘮬 ‹sh:de te.gu› 'in the *Book of Odes*' Aisin Gioro identified this as Ode 251: 豈弟君 子, 民之父母 "How much more then should the happy and courteous sovereign be the parent of his people?" The Kitan version can be translated "the peaceful harmonious gentleman (*junzi*) is the father and mother of the people"

2.179 𘮷 ‹dú›: a locative suffix corresponding to 𘮻 ‹do› and 𘮼 ‹de›, used after words with the main vowel [u]: 𘮽 𘮾𘮿𘯀𘯁 ‹SIX g.iu.uŋ.dú› 'in the six palaces 六宮' Cf. 𘯂𘯃𘯁 ‹ORDO.u.dú› 'in the ordo' 𘯄𘯅𘯁 ‹ku.û.dú› 'among the men, among the people'; 𘯆𘯇 𘯁 𘯈𘯉 ‹ś.iú:dú te.gu› 'in the *Book of Documents* it says' (Nu 34).

2.180 𘮩 ‹sh›. Transcribes the Chinese syllable **shï* and clearly shows the existence of [ï] in Liao Chinese. Examples: 𘮩, 𘮩𘯊 ‹sh, sh.ï› 事 *shï* 'affair, matter, to serve'; 𘮩, 𘮩𘯊 ‹sh, sh.ï› 使 *shï* 'envoy' 𘮩 ‹sh› 史 *shï* 'history, historian' 𘮩𘯊 ~ 𘮩𘯊 ‹sh.ï› 侍 *shï* 'to wait on', 𘮩 ‹sh› 師 *shï* 'teacher, army' However, there are many other examples in which 使 and similar words are written 𘯆𘯇 ‹ś.i›. There were no retroflexes in Kitan, so we can say that transcriptions of the 𘯆𘯇 ‹ś.i› type were broad, reflecting Kitan pronunciation, and transcriptions of the 𘮩𘯊 ‹sh.ï› type narrow, reflecting more closely the Chinese pronunciation.

2.181 𘯋 ‹iúŋ›. 𘯌𘯋 𘯍 𘯎 𘯆𘯏 𘯐𘯑 𘯒𘯓 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **liung hu wei shang giang gün* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guard' *(Research)*.

2.182 𘯔

2.183 𘯕 ‹car›. Ji Shi translated 𘯖𘯗𘯘𘯙 𘯚 𘯛𘯜 𘯝𘯞 𘯕𘯟 ‹t.iu.rén.iń oŋ po.ho i.ri car.a› in the Renxian inscription as "the childhood name of Prince Jiuling was Chara" This is based on Yelü Renxian's biography in the *Liaoshi*.

2.184 𘯠 ‹am›. 𘯠 is in 𘯡𘯢𘯠 ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam* and 𘯣𘯤𘯠 ‹g.ia.am› 監 **giem*.

2.185 𘯥 ‹åm›

2.186 ‹o›. This graph appears in ‹s.o› 左 *zo* and ‹ś.o› 率 *sho*. It also occurs in Kitan words, such as ‹m.o› 'big' ‹mu.ho.o› 'snake', ‹po.o› ~ ‹p.o.o› '*shen*, monkey' Chinggeltei suggests ‹mu.ho.o› should be read **mogo*. Also: ‹o.ordu› 'ordo'; ‹o.ordu.u› 'ordo'; ‹o.ordu.u.dú› 'ordo' (locative); ‹o.ju.ińˊ› ~ ‹o.ju.únˋ› 'to appoint 任 ~ 除'

2.187 ‹TEN THOUSAND›. Perhaps ‹tůmu›. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested might mean 'ten thousand' appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. Examples: ten thousand matters 萬事' ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:en› 'of ten thousand countries 萬國' (Toyoda 1992); ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qa› 'khan in control of ten thousand countries'; ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› 'a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋' (Toyoda 1998).

2.188 ‹zȯ›.Mnemonic from 州. means 'small, young', as in ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zȯ.qó TENT:en› 'the younger (junior) branch of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳' The *Liaoshi* informs us that the maternal uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang*. Amongst these, 小 *xiao* corresponds to . Chinggeltei relates to Mo. *baɣa* 'small', and suggests may be read **ba*. Aisin Gioro suggests **od*.

2.189 ‹a›: ‹m.a› 馬 **ma*; ‹l.a.an› **lan* 蘭 . Kitan ‹êm.a› 'goat; cyclical term 未', ‹te.qo.a› 'chicken, cyclical term 酉', ‹tau.lí.a› 'hare, rabbit, cyclical term 卯'; ‹a› 'to be at, to be present at 在'

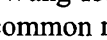
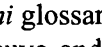
2.190 ‹å›.

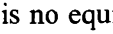
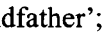
2.191

2.192 śi. Corresponds to Chinese 氏 *shi,* 'name, family name, used after women's names to indicate their family name before marriage'

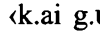
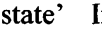
2.193

2.194

2.195 ‹ů›. Mnemonic from 午.
2.196 ‹bu›. Wang Hongli 1986 recognized  ‹te.bu.ei.er› as 撻不也 Tabuye, a common name in the *Liaoshi.* Tabuye is said to mean 'a tiller of fields'. *Jinshi* glossary: 答不也, 耕田者. In the *Liaoshi* the name appears as 撻不也 Tabuye and 撻不衍 Tabuyan. This is probably not a Jurchen word, as there is no equivalent in Manchu. Also in ‹bu› 'grandfather' ‹bu ai› 'grandfather';  ‹bu bu ai› 'great grandfather'

2.197 ‹ah›. transcribes Chinese [ai] in  ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› ~  ‹k.ai g.ui b.ah› 開國伯 **kaigueibai* 'elder who assisted in founding the state' In some transcriptions, there seems to be some confusion between ‹ah› and ‹qu›. 伯 may have had a glottal stop in Liao Chinese, and it is not clear if the use of ‹ah› instead of ‹ai› in such words reflects this.

2.198

2.199 ‹aŋ›.  ‹z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün› 靜江軍 **cinggiang gün* 'the Jingjiang army';  ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› 平章事 **pingzhangshï* 'official title' Cf. ‹iáŋ›.

2.200 Possibly an allograph of 202 or 168.

2.201 Possibly an allograph of ‹ên›. Cf. Gu 25: ‹x.ie.201› 賢 **hien* 'virtuous'

2.202 ‹tu›. ‹tu.uŋ› transcribes 同 **tung* and 統 **tung.* In Kitan it appears in ‹tu.úr.bun› ~ ‹tu.úr.b.ún› 'died, passed away (honorific: 薨).'

2.203 Possibly ‹lå›. might mean 'previous, past' is ‹ca›. If this word is related to Ma. *cala* 'previously, before', might be ‹lå›.

2.204 ‹shì›. Mnemonic from 矢.

2.205 ‹de›. Locative suffix: ‹tai m.iau:de› 'in the imperial ancestral temple, the Taimiao 太廟'; ‹ai:de› 'in that year' There is no independent proof for the usual reading (*Research,* Chinggeltei, Ji Shi, Liu, Aisin Gioro) of as ‹de›. The Mongol locative suffix is *du/dü* < OMo. *dur/dür.* In Jin Jurchen the locative suffixes were probably *dö* and *du.* Another Kitan locative suffixes are ‹do›, used after stems with the vowel

[o], and 𘰾 ‹dú›, used after [u]. If the Kitan prolative (ablative) suffix 'from' 𘰾𘰴 ‹de.i› is related to Ma. *deri*, this might be evidence for a final [r] in 𘰾 ‹de›.

2.206 𘰽 ‹lí›. 𘰽 appears in the word 𘰿𘰽𘱀 ‹tau.lí.a› 'hare' cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 陶里 *taoli* 'hare'. Cf. Mo. *taulai* 'hare'

2.207 𘱁 ‹THOUSAND›. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 give the following examples: 𘱂𘱃𘱄 𘱂𘱅 𘱆 𘱁 ‹p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND› 食邑二千 (Linggong). 食邑 means "lit. to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them" (Hucker 5258). Also: 𘱂𘱃𘱄 𘱂𘱅 𘱿 𘱁 ‹p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND› 'fiefdom of five thousand households' (Renxian). Toyoda 98 pointed out that if 𘱁 means 'thousand', 𘱁 𘱇𘱈 𘱉 公乃𘱈 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› in Xuan 30 means 'a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋' 𘱁 may be ‹miŋ›: cf. 𘱁𘱊 is *meng'an* 孟安. Cf. Ming Jurchen 皿干 *min'gan* 'thousand' (Ki. 664); Mo. *mingγa* ~ *mingγan* 'thousand' Also: 𘱁𘱊 𘱋𘱌 ‹miŋ.an nai:d› 'the leaders of a *meng'an*'

2.208 𘱍 ‹lu›. 𘱍 corresponds to the cyclical sign 辰 *chen*, i.e. 龍 *long*, 'dragon' Cf. Mo. *luu* , Tu. *luu* 'dragon' In 𘱎𘱏 𘱐𘱑 𘱒𘱓 𘱍 𘱔𘱕𘱖 𘱗 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu› 銀青光祿大夫 **yinqing guanglu daifu* **ngincing gunglu daifu*, 祿 *lu* is transcribed 𘱘𘱙 ‹l.uh›. 𘱚 is an allograph. The form with a dot (𘱛 209) seems to be a mistranscription.

2.209 𘱛 See 208 𘱍.

2.210 𘱜 ‹aú›. In 𘱜𘱝 '‹aú.ui› 娘子 *niangzi:* title of a woman of noble rank'

2.211 𘱞 ‹THIRTY›. Reading unknown.

2.212 𘱟

2.213 𘱠 ‹to›. *Research* noticed that 𘱠𘱡 𘱢𘱣𘱤 ‹to.on l.ie.ên› transcribes 團練 **tonlien* 'trainband prefect' Seeing 𘱠 precedes 𘱡 ‹on›, it can be transcribed ‹to›.

2.214 𘱥 ‹dá›. Allograph of 𘱦 ‹da› 171 and 𘱧 ‹da› 215.

2.215 𘱧 ‹da›. Allograph of 𘱥 ‹dá› 214 and 𘱦 ‹da› 171.

2.216 Used in the word , the cyclical sign 子; corresponding to 鼠 'rat'. Its pronunciation is unknown.

2.217 ‹do›. regularly appears with ‹po› 'time' It seems to be a locative suffix following stems with the main vowel [o].

2.218 ‹doro› ~ ‹SEAL› ~ ‹RITUAL›. regularly corresponds to 禮 'ritual, rite, ceremony' It also appears in the Jin reign title 大定 Dading ‹HEAVEN doro.ha.am›. In Di 2, ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d› means 'court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies'

2.219 Possibly an allograph of .

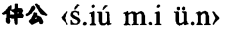
2.220 ‹mú›. Ji Shi recognised in ‹ńi.mú.qú.ń› the Kitan name written 粘木衮 *Niemugun* in the *Liaoshi*. It is followed by ‹p.y.z.iú› 別胥 '*biexu*, a title of nobility for a woman' A similar name appears in the form ‹ńi.mú.qó›, corresponding to 涅木古 *Niemugu* in the *Liaoshi*. The form with *n* indicates a 'second name'

2.221 Possibly an allograph of 222.

2.222 ‹ń›. This graph seems to be read [ńi] initially and [iń] finally. Other graphs may also have this characteristic, but the evidence at the moment is scanty. In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read "捏褐耐, 犬首也" **nieho nai* means 'head of a dog', so the Kitan word for 'dog' was something like **nieho*. In the inscriptions, this corresponds to ‹ńi.qo›, the cyclical branch corresponding to 狗 'dog' Cf. Mo. *noqai* 'dog' Modern forms of Mongol all have [no] in the first syllable. Kitan "second names" end in , and are regularly transcribed with Chinese [iŋ]; when it is final, I transcribe it ‹iń›.

2.223 Possibly an allograph of 224.

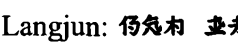
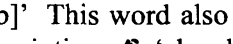
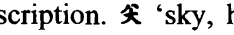
2.224 ‹mu›. ‹mu.ho.o› means 'snake', the zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳, cf. Mo. *moɣai* 'snake' ‹mu.le.gi› is the temple name of Emperor Taizong. ‹mu.u.ji› corresponds to '聖 holy, sacred, referring to the emperor', cf. ‹mu.u.ji heu› '聖后 sacred empress'; ‹mu.u.ji qa› 聖汗 'sacred khan' Evidently a variety of [m], it seems to be used with rounded or back vowels, while ‹m› is used with unrounded or front vowels.

2.225 ‹bi›. Only used in Chinese  ‹bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› **bingma dugiem* 兵馬都監.

2.226 ‹ü›. In ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n› 樞密院 **shiumi'nguan* and ‹ŋ.ü.n p.i› 元妃 *Yuan Fei.*

2.227 ‹jin›. Mnemonic from 仅. Possibly an allograph of 230 and 231. Langjun 3 ‹jin se.qo.zȯ.l.ha.al.ún› corresponds to 修飾 *xiushi* 'repair, ornament, embellish' might mean 'appearance, external appearance' Its pronunciation is unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests *jisu*, cf. Mo. *jisü* 'appearance, shape, face, feature'

2.228 ‹lú›. Aisin Gioro 2004:22 equates with the tribal name 初魯德 [chu-lu-de], *Chulud, so ‹ci.lú.dû›.

2.229 ‹ta›. appears in Langjun: ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ› 'at the Tang Qianling [tomb]' This word also appears in the phrase  in the Daozong inscription. 'sky, heaven',  'earth' and  'eternal, forever' *Research* concluded that the phrase means 天長地永 'heaven is forever and earth is eternal' This would suggest the Kitan word for 'long ~ long time' is ‹ta›.

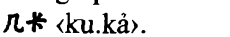
2.230 Allograph of .

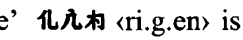
2.231 Allograph of .

2.232

2.233 ‹kú›. Possibly an allograph of ‹ku› 'man' Renxian 7: ‹kú.kå› is written elsewhere ‹ku.kå›.

2.234 ‹rėŋ›. Mnemonic from 仍.

2.235 ‹ri›. appears in  ‹mo.ri› 'horse', cf. Mo. *mori* ~ *morin* 'horse' and ‹i.ri› 'name' ‹ri.g.en› is a Kitan title, *yilijin*. ‹ri› might be [ri] or [ir].

2.236 ‹ur›. often appears in ordinal numbers:  ‹c.ur.er› 'second', ‹hu.ur.er›, 'third' ‹d.ur.er› 'fourth'. Chinggeltei 1999

suggested ‹ci.g.en u.ur› 'left division' and ‹u.ur ai› 'former fathers = ancestors'

2.237 ‹du›: ‹z.ie du sh› **ziedushï* 'military commissioner 節度使' ‹du tu.uŋ› **dutung* 'campaign commander 都統'

2.238 ‹BORN›: ‹hoŋ tai heu:un BORN:er DAY› 'the day the empress dowager was born' (Renyi 10). A jade cup in the Qianlong collection of antiquities has a Kitan inscription: ‹neu mó.n BORN:er DAY, go.er qa û.er› 'on the birth day of the empress, the family khan gave her [this]' Luo Fucheng explained the first part, Chinggeltei the second. Ji Shi 1982 proposed that be read *tur*, cf. Mo. *törü-* 'to be born' Wang Hongli 1986 suggested *men* cf. Mo. *mendüle-* 'to be born, said of illustrious persons'

2.239 ‹bå›. Mnemonic from 八. also means 里 *li* 'a Chinese mile'

2.240 ‹TEN›. The Jurchen numerals from twelve to nineteen are: *jirxon, gurxon, dürxon, toboxon, ñirxon, dalxon, ñuxon, oñoxon.* (Janhunen 2003a). Apart from the stems for 'eight' and 'nine' they are clearly related to the Mongol basic numerals. In the Kitan inscriptions the teens are expressed by the graphs for 'ten-two', 'ten-three' and so on, like Chinese. The pronunciation of could be [hon] or similar. It is still unknown if the Jurchen words for the teens actually did come from Kitan.

2.241 ‹pu›. Used to transcribe the Ch. syllable [fu] 夫, 傅, 父, 輔, 駙, 副 府. 副 is written ‹pu› or ‹pu.u›, and 府 written ‹pu› or ‹fu›. is also found in the Kitan word ‹pu.kå.l.ge.er› '天慶 Tianqing, a reign title' Presumably Kitan did not have an initial [f], so may have been ‹pu›. So the underlying form of ‹pu.is.iń› 夫人 would be **pužin* rather than **fužin.* The difference between and is unknown; the original distinction may have been ‹pu› and ‹fu›, the dot indicated a modified form. If there was no [f] in Kitan it is not surprising if and were not differentiated in later inscriptions.

2.242 ‹fu›. See 2.241.

2.243 ‹HEAVEN›. Readings such as *teŋri, dəŋri, təŋgər, tŋgri* and the like are sometimes suggested, but there is no evidence. Ji Shi noticed that the word written ‹se.bu.o.ho› 'inherited the throne, succeeded to the throne' in the imperial epitaphs was written ‹se.bu.243.ho› in the Renxian inscription. In that case, the reading of should be close to ‹o›,

but this is more likely to be a mistranscription. 𐲤 𐲱 𐲥𐲦 𐲧 ‹HEAVEN ta, neu.e ETERNAL› 'heaven is long, earth is eternal 天長地久' (Dao 37); 𐲤 𐲥𐲦 'heaven and earth' corresponding to 乾坤, which is a literary term for 'heaven and earth' (Xuanyi 10, Renxian 36, Zhixian 19); 𐲤 𐲥𐲦 𐲰𐲬𐲫𐲴𐲵 ‹HEAVEN.neu.e ei.eu.ur.û.ji:en› '乾坤旋轉 heaven and earth revolve' (Renxian 36).

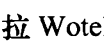
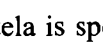
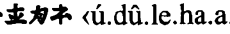
2.244 𐲪 ‹s›. Used in Kitan words and Chinese words. 𐲪 is used to transcribe Chinese [s], [ts] and [ts']. 𐲪𐲶 ‹s.i› 'west' **si;* 𐲪𐲥𐲦 s.ie.ên› 'immortal' 仙 **sien*; 𐲪𐲷𐲹 ‹s.y.iên› 宣 **süen;* 𐲪𐲵𐲱 ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam;* 𐲪𐲹 ‹s.iau› 小 **siau.* In the following words, 𐲪 transcribes [tsh]: 𐲪𐲻 ‹s.iŋ› 青 **cing* 'green'; 𐲪𐲶 ‹s.i› 'lacquer' 漆 **ci;* 𐲪𐲥𐲦 ‹s.ie.ên› 'before' 前 **cien.* In the following words, 𐲪 transcribes Chinese [ts]: 𐲪𐲲 ‹s.iu› 酒 **ziu* 'wine'; 𐲪𐲯 ‹s.iaŋ› 'general' 將 **ziang* 𐲪𐲽 ‹s.úŋ› 宗 **zong;* 𐲪𐲺 ‹s.ú› 祖 **zu* 'ancestor'; 𐲪𐲨 ‹s.ï› 子 **zï* 'son' 𐲪 also appears in the reign title 𐲢 𐲪𐲵 ‹GREAT s.en› ‹s.en› = [isin] 'great longevity 壽昌' (壽: 'longevity'); 𐲪𐲹𐲷 ‹s.iau.qu› '甲, 乙; blue'; 𐲪𐲨 ‹s.uni› 'night' Other examples: 𐲪𐲩𐲽 𐲣𐲼𐲤𐲫 ‹se.mu.én o.ORDU.u.dú› 'in the travelling palaces' (Dao 5), 𐲪𐲢𐲽 𐲼𐲺 ‹se.m.én ORDU.ú› 'travelling palace'

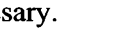
2.245 𐲺 ‹ú›. 𐲺 often appears in the word 祖 **zu* 'ancestor': 𐲺𐲧 𐲻𐲺 ‹t.ei z.ú› 德祖 Dezu, 𐲶𐲶 𐲻𐲺 ‹i.i z.ú› 懿祖 Yizu; 𐲭 𐲪𐲺 ‹tai s.ú› 太祖 Taizu; 𐲺 𐲪𐲻 𐲯𐲵 ‹ú s.iŋ ki.en› 武清縣 Wuqing county. In other inscriptions, 武 **wu* is written 𐲬𐲤 ‹w.u›. So 𐲺 ‹ú› and 𐲬𐲤 ‹w.u› must be similar in pronunciation. 𐲺 ‹ú› alternates with 𐲤 ‹u› and 𐲮 ‹ó› in the word *ordu*, written 𐲼𐲺 ‹ORDU.ú› 𐲼𐲤 ‹ORDU.u› or 𐲼𐲮 ‹ORDU.ó›. The name 斡特拉 Wotela is written 𐲺𐲭𐲰𐲯𐲵𐲷 ‹ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar›.

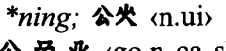
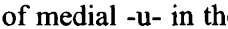
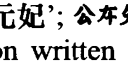
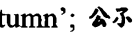
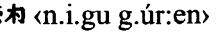
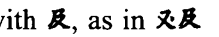
2.246 𐲷 ‹qu›. 𐲷 appears in 𐲪𐲹𐲷 ‹s.iau.qu› 'blue', 𐲰𐲹𐲷 ‹l.iau.qu› 'red' and 𐲤𐲭𐲷 ‹m.as.qu› 'first' Sometimes it seems to be confused with 𐲸 ‹ah›, as in the word 𐲵𐲷(𐲸) 𐲬𐲤 ‹c.ah w.un› 冊文 **chaiwun* 'text of an inscription'

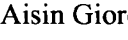
2.247 𐲧 ‹t›. 𐲧 appears to transcribe both [d] and [t]. 𐲧𐲯 ‹t.uŋ› 通 **tung*; 𐲧𐲥𐲦 ‹t.ie.ên› **dien* 'palace'; 𐲧𐲧 ‹t.ei› 德 **dei* 'virtue', 𐲧𐲮𐲮 ‹te.qo.a› 'chicken', 𐲧𐲭𐲭 ‹te.ge.er› 'deceased', 𐲧𐲫𐲰𐲭𐲭 ‹t.em.l.ge.er› 'enfeoffed 封'; 𐲧𐲤 ‹te.gu› 'said 曰'; 𐲧𐲬𐲧𐲵 ‹te.bu.ei.en› '撻不衍 Tabuyan' Cf. 𐲧𐲬𐲧𐲭 ‹te.bu.ei.er› or 𐲧𐲬𐲧𐲶 ‹te.bu.ei.i›: 'Tabuye 撻不也'.

2.248 ‹YOUNG›. ‹YOUNG.qú› is often followed by ‹eu.ur› 'time, age, period', and is sometimes contrasted with ‹m.ó.qú› 'old, elder, eldest' when listing elder and younger siblings.

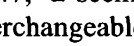
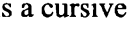
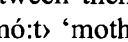
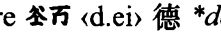
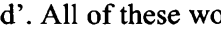
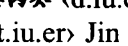
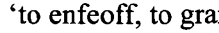
2.249 ‹dû›. The name 斡特拉 Wotela is spelled in two ways,  ‹ORDO.le.ha.a.án› and  ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, so it can be seen that ‹ORDO› = ‹ú.dû›. Chinggeltei 1999 compared  ‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón›, the reign title Da'an 大安 'Great Peace' with the word 窝篤碗 *wodu'on* in the *Liaoshi* glossary.

2.250 ‹heu›. appears in  ‹hoŋ heu› 皇后 **hongheu* 'empress'

2.251 ‹n›. ‹n.iŋ› 寧 **ning;* ‹n.ui› 内 **nuei* (note medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form); ‹go.n ca sh› **gonchashï* 'investigative official 觀察使' (note lack of medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form);  ‹ŋ.ü.n p.i› 'Yuan Fei 元妃';  ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› 'epitaph, inscription written on a tomb 墓誌銘' (‹ne.ra› = tomb);  ‹n.am.úr› 'autumn';  ‹n.on› 'generation';  ‹n.i.gu› 'Jurchen, gold';  ‹n.i.gu g.úr:en› 'of the Jurchen state'

2.252 ‹ó›. alternates with , as in  ‹m.o› ~ ‹m.ó› 'big', ‹n.ó› ~ ‹n.o› 'spouse'. (Aisin Gioro 2004:11).

2.253 . Possibly an allograph of 252.

2.254 ‹d›. Like ‹t› 2.247, seems to transcribe both [t] and [d]. These two graphs seem to be interchangeable in both Chinese and Kitan words; Wang Jingru suggested is a cursive allograph of . Nevertheless, there is clearly some difference between them:  ‹ai:d› 'fathers, males' is the plural of ‹ai›, but  ‹mó:t› 'mothers, females' is the plural of ‹mó› 'mother' Examples of are  ‹d.ei› 德 **dei* 'virtue'; ‹d.ei› 特 **dei* 'special' (Modern Mandarin *tè* is irregular, we would expect *dé*);  ‹d.ur.er› 'fourth', ‹HEAVEN d.iu.rėn› 天德 Tiande;  ‹d.em.l.ge.er› 'was enfeoffed'. All of these words can also be found written with . Other examples:  ‹d.iu.er› in ‹HEAVEN d.iu.er›, also written  ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› Jin dynasty reign title Jin Tianhui 天會. The stem ‹d.em› means 'to enfeoff, to grant an honorary title 封'

2.255 ‹or›. occurs in ‹p.o.or› 'made, caused to be [promoted to a position]' This is a past suffix in the series ‹ar› ‹er› and ‹or›.

2.256

2.257 ‹em›. A personal name in the Zongjiao inscription, ‹t.em.én›, is transcribed 特每 **deimui* or 特免 **deimien,* the form with the suffix ‹iń› indicates the Kitan "second name" This would tend to suggest that is [em]. In the rewritten lines of the Daozong inscription, ‹mu.em.se.gi› was rewritten ‹毛.se.gi›. So 毛 'one' must be pronounced ‹mu.em› **mem*. The stem of the word 'to enfeoff, to grant an honorary title' is ‹d.em›, similar to Mongol *temdeg-* and Manchu *temgetu* 'sign', as in *temgetulembi* 'to confer a mark of distinction on' So 'edict' would be ‹k.em›. Lu and Zhou 2001 suggested that ‹em:en nai:d› in Langjun corresponds to 'local officials 地方首長', so em› would mean 'place' and ‹em:en› 'local'

2.258 ‹z›. Appears mainly in Chinese words: ‹z.iu› 酒 **ziu* 'wine', ‹z.i› 濟 **zi* 'name of a place'; ‹z.ie› 節 **zie* 'branch'; ‹z.iŋ› 靜 **zing* 'quiet'; ‹z.úŋ› 宗 **zung* 'ancestor; used in emperors' temple names'; ‹z.ï› 紫 **zï* 'purple'; ‹z.iaŋ› 將 **ziang;* ‹z.i› 祭 **zi* 'sacrifice', ‹z.in› 進 **zin* enter, ‹z.ú› 祖 **zu* 'ancestor' ‹z.ï›, 子 **zï*; ‹z.o› 左 **zo* 'left [side]'

2.259 ‹THIRD›. Possibly ‹hur›. The word for 'third' is ‹hu.ur.er›, sometimes also written , so ‹hu.ur› = ‹hur›. See 166.

2.260 ‹FOURTH›. This graph is only found in 'fourth'

2.261 ‹l›. ‹l.iúŋ› 龍 **liung* (note the medial -i- in the Liao form); ‹l.iáŋ› 梁 **liang;* ‹l.a.an› 蘭 **lan* 'orchid'; ‹l.uh› 祿 **lu* MC luk*;* ‹û.ul.ge.l.ún› 'married [of a woman] 嫁，適'; ‹d.em.l.ge.ei› 'enfeoffed 封' ‹l.iu.rėn.er› 'died [of an emperor]崩'; ‹p.od.l.ún› 'returned'; ‹l.iáŋ ś.a.an› Liangshan, Mount Liang 梁山'· ‹l.i c.eu› 'Lizhou, Li prefecture 醴州'; ‹l.êm.a› *'linya* 林牙'; ‹l.êm.hu.a› *'linya* 林牙'; ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ› 'Linggong 令公'; ‹l.eu ś.i tai oŋ› Loushi dawang 婁室大王 (Jurchen general who defeated the Liao); ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **lunghuwei shangzianggün* 龍虎衛上將軍 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guard'; ‹l.iu.rėn.er› 'died (honorific term:崩)'; ‹l.iau.qu› 'red'

2.262 ‹ui›. ‹ui› regularly translates 'matter, affair 事', and is used to transcribe Chinese words such as 衛 *wei,* 尉 *wei* etc. It is also used for the

cyclical stem 亥 *hai* 'pig' Some scholars have suggested it is read *uil* or *uile*, with which one can compare Mo. and Ma. *weile* 'affair, business' Cf. Ju. *ulgian* 'pig', where *-gian* is a nominal suffix, perhaps leaving the stem as **ul-*. It is used in the expression ‹ui KNOW.i›, which corresponds to 知事, 'managing the affairs of'. ‹g.ui› 國 **guei* 'country, state'; ‹ś.ui› 水 **shuei* 'water'; ‹n.ui› 内 **nuei* 'inside'; ‹û.ui› 'give, provide'; (‹ui› in these examples might be a converb suffix);   ‹x.ui.ci› 'after he arrived'

2.263 ‹ui›. Allograph of 262: ui 衛 **wei,* 尉 **wei;* ‹ś.ui› 水 **shuei* 'water'; ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› **gim'nguwei shang zianggün* 金吾衛上將軍 are are both common and in many cases interchangeable, but tends to be used more in Ch. words, the dot perhaps indicating a reading slightly different from .

2.264 ‹ŋ›. This is used in Chinese words to transcribe initial or final [ŋ]. Examples: ‹ŋ.i› 儀 **ngi;* ‹ŋ.u› 吾 **ngu;* ‹śi.ŋ› 聖 **shing;* ‹ŋ.in› 銀 **ngin;* ‹ŋ.iú› 御 **ngiu;*   ‹ŋ.y.n› ~   ‹ŋ.y.iên› ~   ‹ŋ.ü.n› 元 **ngüen.*

2.265

2.266 [SIXTY]. ‹eu.úr TWO:de l.iu.rèn:én› 'he died at the age of sixty two' (Renyi 12). (Wang Hongli 1986). is a mistake for .   ‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.iń› 'the sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦' (Toyoda 1991, 1992).

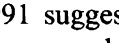
2.267 See 2.266

2.268 ‹yi›.

2.269 = 341 (?)

2.270 ‹êm›. is found with back or front vowels: ‹hu.êm.hu›, a name which in the *Liaoshi* is transcribed 匣馬葛 **hiamaho*;   ‹êm.a› 'goat, mountain goat 山羊';   ‹êm.ci› 'after he drank';   ‹l.êm.a› **limŋa* '*linya* 林牙: Kitan official title' In Chinese loanwords: ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› 殿前都點檢 **diencien du diem giem* 'chief inspector of the palace command'.

2.271

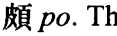
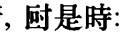
2.272 ‹bú›. Ji Shi 1996 suggested that ‹le.bủ.uh s.ên.un› stands for 魯不古 詳穩 *Lubugu xiangwen*, Lubugu being a name found in the *Liaoshi*. is presumably an allograph of ‹bú›. See 2.176.
2.273 ‹un›. A genitive ending following stems with the main vowel [u]: ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ:un› 'of the 令公 *linggong* [lord] ';  ‹g.uŋ tz.iú:un› 'of the 公主 **gungzhiu* [princess]' Used in transcriptions of Chinese loan words, as in ‹w.un› 文 **wun*.

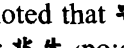
2.274 ‹iá›. Gao Lujia 1991 suggests that is an allograph of ‹ie›. Aisin Gioro suggests it is pronounced the same as ‹ia›.

2.275 Probably an allograph of 277.

2.276 Probably an allograph of 277.

2.277 ‹qudug›. A logogram: 'good fortune, happiness' Commonly used as a name, transcribed 胡覩古 **hudugu*. This graph always occurs with , so . From an examination of the rubbings, it seems is really a single graph, , derived from a cursive form of Chinese 福 *fu* 'good fortune, happiness' See also , , . Cf. 2.380.

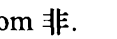
2.278 Probably an allograph of 277:  =  = .

2.279 ‹po›. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for 'time' as 时, and notes that 时 is pronounced 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 瞎里时, 漢人譯云 :瞎里是請, 时是時: "the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means 'to invite', *po* is 'time' " *Research* suggested the reading *po* for . Shen Zhong 80 noted that  means 'four seasons 四時' is often followed by ‹do›: ‹po:do› 'at the time, at that time'

2.280 ‹áŋ›. occurs in ‹xa.áŋ tai ca.aŋ ś.iú ś.iáŋ›, the transcription of 行台尚书省 **hang tai shang shiu shieng*' This suggests which suggests must be similar to ‹aŋ›.

2.281

2.282 ‹fêi›. Mnemonic from 非.

2.283 ‹k›. appears in: ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› 開府儀同三司 **kaifu ngitung samsï;*  ‹k.ai g.ui

b.ah› 開國 伯 **kaigueibai* 開國伯; also written ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah›, ‹k.em sȯ.or› 'he heard [received] the imperial edict 敕'; ‹k.em te.gu› 'the edict says 敕曰'

2.284 . This graph always appears together with ‹zù› in the word . Gao 2: ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí› DAY.i ui RECORD.gi.le.gi; ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›. ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí› means 印牌司郎君 'court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies' ‹RECORD.gi.le.gi› 'cause to be recorded' ‹ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh› is the name of the compiler of the inscription, 耶律固 Yelü Gu. means 'composed'; the pronunciation of 308 is unknown. means 'of the day' and ‹ui› is 'affairs, matters' On the basis of other inscriptions, one would presume that means 'according to the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注 *qijuzhu*' So must refer to the emperor, the throne, or affairs of state. may derive from 上 *shang* 'above', one of the words which referred to the emperor. often has one or more spaces in front of it.

2.285 'yellow, gold' See 4.59.

2.286 . A form of used with masculine nouns. ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› 'golden bird 金鳥'

2.287

2.288 ‹bun› The title in Daozong inscription includes the term 'great, filial' written ‹m.o ci.i.is.de.b.ún›. In the text of the inscription, the same term is written ‹m.o ci.i.is.de.bun›. In the revised lines of the Daozong inscription, ‹hó.le.b.ún› is written ‹hó.le.bun› and ‹doro.le.b.ún› is written ‹doro.le.bun›. So ‹b.un› = = ‹bun›.

2.289 ‹iú›. Distinguished from ‹iu› and ‹io›. appears in the following Chinese words: ‹x.iú› 許 **hiu;* ‹ś.iú› 書 **shiu;* ‹ś.iú› 署 **shiu;* ‹ŋ.iú› 御 **ŋiu;* ‹dz.iú› 主 **zhiu.* It is used in Kitan words as a dative-locative suffix following stems in [a].

2.290 ‹án›. *Research* concluded that the main vowel in was [u]. It resembles the Chinese character 出 *chu*, so *Research* suggested it might be read *tʃu*. It later became clear that the main vowel was not [u], but more

likely [a]. In Zhong 38, 𐏁𐏃𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹ar.u.ul.ha.én› was changed to 𐏁𐏃𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹ar.u.ul.ha.án›, suggesting 𐏁𐏂 and 𐏁𐏂 must have been close, morphologically and/or phonetically. Both of them were used in verbal inflections, and could modify nouns. They could both be followed by case endings, e.g. 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 'the day on which the empress dowager was born', 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 'born on the eighteenth day' 𐏁𐏂 often follows 𐏁𐏂 ‹ha›, and 𐏁𐏂 mostly follows 𐏁𐏂 ‹ge›. Chinggeltei has now come to the conclusion that 𐏁𐏂 is *an* and 𐏁𐏂 is *en*. They are transcribed here 𐏁𐏂 ‹án› and 𐏁𐏂 ‹én› to distinguish them from the genitive endings 𐏁𐏂 ‹an› and 𐏁𐏂 ‹en›.

2.291 𐏁𐏂

2.292 𐏁𐏂. 𐏁𐏂 appears in the phrase 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹292.u ś.eu.kả on.a.án› 'sweet dew descended' 甘露降 [on the day the coffin was interred]. Whether or not it is a logogram meaning 'sweet' is not known, but [u] seems to be a nominal/adjectival suffix.

2.293 𐏁𐏂

2.294 𐏁𐏂 ‹SOUTH›/‹TRIBE› ‹siȯ›. Mnemonic from 小. Liu Fengzhu 1993 suggested that 𐏁𐏂 means 'tribe' or 'division 部' Ji Shi suggested 𐏁𐏂 is a logograph, ‹SOUTH›. So 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹SOUTH u.ur› meant 'the southern administration 院' Toyoda concluded that 𐏁𐏂 is 'east', 𐏁𐏂 'west', 𐏁𐏂 'south' and 𐏁𐏂 'north' 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 ‹SOUTH WEST› 南西=西南; 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹SOUTH u.ur l.êm.a› *'linya* of the southern administration 南院林牙' In many cases, however, 𐏁𐏂 is better understood in the meaning of 'tribe, division'. Perhaps one graph was used for two separate but homophonous words.

2.295 𐏁𐏂 ‹p›. 𐏁𐏂 appears in the following words: 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.iŋ› 平 **ping;* 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.i› 妃 **fuei* (?), 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.oŋ› 奉 **fung.* 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh› **pingzhang zhing shï* 平章政事; 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹ŋ.y.n p.i.in› Yuan Fei 'principal consort 元妃 (genitive); 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.iŋ l.a.on g.uŋ c.en› **pinglon gungchen* 'meritiorious official suppressing disorder 平亂功臣'; 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹po.o› *'shen*, cyclical sign, monkey, 申'; 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.o.o› *id.*; 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.od.i› 'return'; 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.od.l.ún› 'returned' 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 ‹p.od.le.ha.al.ún› (causative) 'sent back'; 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 ‹p.ul.uh NINE MONTH› 'intercalary ninth month 閏九月' 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂𐏁𐏂 𐏁𐏂 ‹p.u.u ś.iú ss› 'office of the administrator 部署司'

2.296 𐏁𐏂

2.297 ‹pú›. In Xuanyi, ‹pú.u ku› corresponds to 僕 *pu* 'servant'. ‹ku› is 'man'

2.298 ‹co›. Wang Hongli 1984 noticed that ‹co.on dû.u› is perhaps a transcription of 攢涂殿 *Cuantu Dian,* cf. *Liaoshi* 50: 喪葬儀, 聖宗崩, 興宗哭臨于攢涂殿 'during the burial ceremonies after Shengzong died, Xingzong approached the Cuantu Hall and wept' In Xing 2 the same word is written ‹co.on tu›. 攢 *cuan* means 'to keep a coffin in a temporary shelter until burial'

2.299

2.300 ‹EIGHTY›. See also 301. Xu 38: ‹eu.úr EIGHTY tu.úr.bun› 'he died at the age of eighty' Wotela, the subject of the inscription, was appointed court attendant at the beginning of the Xianyong period, and died in the fifth year of the Qiantong period, a period of 40 years. If he was 40 on his appointment he would be 80 at the time of his death. Ji Shi 1996 thinks that is a mistake for . ‹EIGHTY bå:en c.ie.ên› seems to be related to a passage in the *Liaoshi* biography of Renxian: 塔里干復來寇, 仁先逆擊, 追殺八十餘里 'Taligan returned to plunder, Renxian counterattacked him; he pursued him, killing, for more than 80 *li*.'

2.301 This seems to be a mistranscription of 300.

2.302 ‹il›. The name ‹t.il.uh.ińˀ› is probably a form of the common name 迪烈 ~ 敵烈 Dilie. is similar in shape to 310. It also occurs in the word ‹yi.il.ińˀ›, which is common but not identified. It may be 迤邐免 *yilimian*, also written 迤邐兔 *yilimian* (princess consort, wife of a prince).

2.303 ‹iŋ›. is only found in Chinese words. ‹iŋ› 應 **ying* ‹p.iŋ› 兵; ‹bi.iŋ› 平 **ping;* ‹g.iŋ› 景 , 經 **ging*.

2.304 ‹gỏ›. ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gỏ› in Daozong 6 corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* 'throne of eternal happiness' ‹hu.o.gỏ› must mean 'throne' or something similar.

2.305 ‹rỏ›. Mnemonic from 肉.

2.306

2.307

2.308 ‹COMPOSE›. ‹COMPOSE.i› 'to compose [the text of an inscription], 撰'

2.309. ‹hó›. ‹hó.le.bo.ń› is part of the reign title 皇統 Huangtong. ‹c.ur.er jau.qó.ui hó.le.bo.ń aú.ui› 'the second was the royal lady Oliben 訛里本娘子' Cf *Liaoshi* 100, *Biography of Xiao Chouwo,* which gives her second name as 訛里本娘子 Presumably Chouwo is a transcription of ‹jau.qó.ui›, the meaning of which is not known. It may be part of her name. or is often translated 皇族 *huangzu* 'imperial clan'

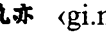
2.310 A similar graph is 302.

2.311 ‹b› ~ ‹bo›. ‹b.ah› 伯 **bai* ; ‹b.iau› 驃 **biau*; ‹b.u› 保 **bau* ‹b.û› 部 **bu.*   ‹b.oh c.eu fu.oŋ ŋ.iú sh.ï› 博州防禦使 **bozheu fong ngushï;* 'defense commissioner of Bozhou' ‹oh› could be [o?]. ‹bo.qo› 'child';   ‹m.o bo.qo› 'eldest child';   ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› 'grandson'; ‹bo.hu.án› 'children, sons';   ‹mó:t bo.hu.án› 'daughters'; ‹b.as› 'again'; ‹b.y.z.iú› a Kitan title transcribed 別胥 *biexu*; ‹bo.ra.ia.án› ~ ‹bo.ra.a.án› 'right side'

2.312 ‹tủmu›. Ji Shi 1996 noted that a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, ‹tủmu.úr t.úŋ.a›, may correspond to a name in the Chinese inscription, 圖木里同刮 **tumulituŋgua.* This strongly suggests that is [tủmu]. In Renxian 49, corresponds to 兩萬 'twenty thousand', suggesting that means 'ten thousand' In Renxian 11 we read ‹TEN TEN-THOUSAND û.ji:en› 'gave a hundred thousand' This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten Chinese counties in Liao territory.

2.313 ‹ló›. appears in 'seventh', which is presumed to be read ‹dau.ló.er›, so could be ‹ló›.

2.314 ‹iaŋ›. ś.iaŋ 相 **siang;* z.iaŋ ~ s.iaŋ 將 **ziang;*   ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün›上將軍 **shangzianggün.* 將軍 'general' is written both   ‹s.iaŋ g.ün› and   ‹s.iáŋ g.ün›.

‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› 金吾衛上將軍 **gim'nguwei shangzianggün*;  ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› 龍虎衛上將軍 **liunghuwei shangzianggün* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guards'

2.315 ‹iảŋ›. Possibly an allograph of 314. 120 may be a cursive form.

2.316 ‹mủh›. Mnemonic from 目.

2.317 ‹TEXT›. Used in the expression ‹TEXT.ú te.gu›, which introduces rhymed sections in the inscriptions.

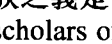
2.318

2.319 ‹go›. appears in Gu in ‹go.n ca sh› 觀察使 **gonchashï* 'investigative official' ‹go.er› is a Kitan word translated 帳 or 帳房 'tent'. It refers to a tribal unit, and by extension, a family, a lineage.

2.320 ‹yỏ›. Mnemonic from 由.

2.321 ‹yô›. Mnemonic from 由. Most commonly found in the words ‹yô.u› and ‹yô.iú›, the cyclical terms 壬 and 癸 correspond to the colour black. Ji Shi 1996 quoted a passage from the *Mengqi bitan*: 昔人文章用北狄事多言黑山. 黑山在大漠之北, 今謂之姚家族 ...姚義為黑, 家族之義是山 "when discussing the northern barbarians, works of previous scholars often refer to 'Black Mountain'. Black Mountain is to the north of the great desert. Now it is called 姚家族 Yaojiazu 姚 *yau* means 'black', 家族 *giazu* means 'mountain' " On the basis of this, Ji Shi suggested **yo* for .

2.322 ‹ón›

2.323 ‹qi›. In Langjun corresponds to 該時 'that time' Cf.  (Zhonggong) 'that year that month that day that time (locative). In Zhong, 'that' is also written ‹qi.hu›; this is also found elsewhere. ‹qi s.uni› 'that night' also appears in the word for the Xi 奚, an ethnic group apparently related to the Kitans, written ‹qi.ii.ń›. This word appears many times in the inscriptions.

2.324 ‹iên›. Transcribes Chinese words with final [üɛn]: ‹ŋ.y.iên› 元 **ŋüen;* ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mo› 宣懿皇后 'empress

Xuanyi' 𘤀𘥊𘥈 𘦂𘦈 𘧓𘥑 ‹s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï› 宣徽使 'master of court ceremonies'; 𘤀𘥊𘥈 𘧓𘥑 𘤀 ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.ô pu› 元帥府 *nguanshuai fu*.
2.325 𘥈 ‹dẻn›. Mnemonic from 电.

2.326 𘥊 ‹iẻ›.

2.327 𘥊 ‹ie›. In transcriptions of Chinese, 𘥊 indicates medial -i-: 𘤀𘥊𘥈 ‹s.ie.iên› 宣*süan; 𘤀𘥊𘥑 ‹s.ie.ên› 前 *cien; 𘠏𘥊𘥑 ‹d.ie.ên› 殿 *dien; 𘤀𘥊𘥑 𘥑𘥑𘥋 𘤀𘥊𘥑 ‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên› 仙游殿 'Hall of the Wandering Immortals'; 𘠏𘥊𘥑 𘤀𘥊𘥑 𘥑 𘠏𘠏 𘦂𘥊𘠏 ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› 殿前都點檢 *dien cien du diem giem 'chief inspector of the palace command' At the end of a syllable transcribes Ch. *ie*: 𘤀𘥊 ‹z.ie› = 節 in 𘤀𘥊 𘥑 𘦂 ‹z.ie du sh› 節度使 *ziedushï 'military commissioner' In Kitan words 𘥊 appears with the following graphs: 𘥓 ‹ra› 𘥔 ‹ia› 𘥕 ‹ai› 𘥖 ‹a› and 𘥗 ‹ha›, which suggests its main vowel was [a].

2.328 𘥘 ‹hoŋ›. In 𘥘 𘥙 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor'

2.329𘥚 ‹ün›. In Chinese words 𘥚 corresponds to [ün] in Modern Mandarin, but it is not clear if [u] > [ü] / [i] in Liao Chinese. 𘦂𘥚 ‹g.ün› *gün 軍 'army'

2.330 𘥛 ‹ź›. Derived from 𘥜 ‹ś› to indicate [ž]. 𘥛𘥝 𘥞𘥞 𘥘 𘥟 ‹ź.in i.i hoŋ heu› 仁懿皇后 'empress Renyi'; 𘥛𘥝 𘤀𘥠 ‹ź.in s.úŋ› 仁宗 'emperor Renzong'

2.331 𘥡 ‹neu›. In Xuanyi 𘤀𘥊𘥈 𘥞𘥞 𘥡𘥢 𘥣 ‹s.ie.iên i.i. neu.e mó› corresponds to 宣懿皇后 'empress Xuanyi', so clearly 𘥡𘥢 𘥣 means 'empress' The *Liaoshi* provides us with a number of Kitan words for 'empress': 皇后 *hongheu; 忒里蹇 *teiligien, 可敦 *kodun and 耨斡麼(么) *neu-o-mo. 皇后 is common in the inscriptions; it is written 𘥘 𘥟 ‹hoŋ heu›. 𘥢 is ‹e›, so it seems likely that 𘥡𘥢 𘥣 ‹neu.e mo› must correspond to 耨斡麼(么) *neu-e-mo*. In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read: 耨斡, 后土稱. 麼(么), 母稱: '*neu-o*, the name of *houtu* 'empress of the earth'; 麼(么) means 母 'mother' Cf. *Liaoshi* 71: 遼因突厥, 稱皇后曰可敦. 國語曰忒里蹇. 尊稱曰耨斡麼么,蓋以配后土而母之云 "The Liao, following the Tujue, called the empress *kedun*. In their national language they say *teiligien. The respectful term is *nou-o-mo*. It is said that *houtu* 'the female earth deity' is the same as *mu* 'mother'."

2.332 ‹nai›. 'first, head, official' ‹nai sâyir?› is 'the first month of the lunar year 正月' In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read 捏褐耐, 犬首也: **nieho nai* means 'head of a dog' The *Liaoshi* also tells us that 捏褐 **nieho* means 'dog' and 耐 *nai* means 'head', so should be pronounced *nai*. is common in the sense of 'official, leader' The plural form is ‹nai:d› and the genitive ‹nai:en›.

2.333 Possibly *qåtun*. Ji Shi sought to identify the word ‹qåtun ún.n› in *Renyi* 5 as 胡俚著 **teligian,* one of the words for 'queen, empress' recorded in the *Liaoshi*. Liu Fengzhu agreed that corresponded to 'empress', but this was neither of the two known words for empress, ‹hoŋ heu› and ‹neu.mo›. He suggested might have been *qatun*. Wang Hongli 86 noticed that ‹s.iau hur.ú qåtun› in *Zhong* 14 referred to a Tangut tribal leader 小斛祿 'Xiaohulu' Xuan 12 has the plural form with suffix ‹d›: ‹då qatun:d› 'several queens'

2.334 ‹g›. Found in the following Chinese words: ‹g.oŋ› 光 **gong* (note lack of medial *-u-* in this final in Liao Chinese) ‹g.uŋ›, **gung* 'duke'公; ‹g.iu.uŋ› 宮 **giung* 'palace' (note medial *-i-* in this final in Liao Chinese); ‹g.iŋ› **ging* 'capital 京', ‹g.aŋ› **gang* (one would expect **giang*) 'river 江'; ‹gi.m› 金 **gim* 'metal, gold'; ‹g.ün› 'army 軍' **gün* 郡 **gün* 'prefecture' ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› ~ ‹g.uŋ c.iú› **gungzhiu* 'princess 公主'; ‹g.en.ún TEXT.ú› 哀銘 'obituary, eulogy, funerary inscription'; ‹g.en.ún g.en.ún e› 哀哀 'sad, sad', also written ‹g.en.ún g.en.ún e› 'how said it it' (ː indicates repetition of a word); ‹g.u tau.lí.a› 玉兔 'jade hare'

2.335 ‹ia›. appears in ‹g.ia.am› 監 **giem;* g.ia.êm 監 **giem*; ‹ha.ia› 夏 **hia;* ‹g.ia› 家 **gia;*   ‹oŋ g.ia n.u› Wang Jianu (personal name)王家奴; ‹c.en g.ia n.u› 陳家奴 Chen Jianu (personal name); ‹xa.ia g.úr› 夏國 'the Xia state; the Xixia or Tangut state'; ‹ia ai› 伯父 *bó fù* 'uncle' (father's elder brother). Liu Fengzhu interpreted ‹t.úŋ.a ci.ci ia deu› 同瓦及兩兄弟 'Tuŋua and others, his elder brother and his younger brother' If this is so, the common word ‹ci ci› must mean 'together with, and others, et cetera'

2.336 . Perhaps a cursive form of . Another suggestion is that it means 'good'

2.337 ‹ji›. An allograph of 152 and 153.

2.338 ‹i'i› A rare graph, found only in the personal name ‹ź.in i'i hoŋ heu› 'empress Renyi' This name is also written ‹ź.in i.i hoŋ heu›, from which it can be seen ‹i'i› = ‹i.i›.

2.339 ‹i›. ‹ŋ.i› 儀 **ŋi;* ‹i.i.› 懿 **yi;* ‹x.i› 期 **ki;* ‹p.i› 妃 **fuei;* ‹s.i› 西 **si;* ‹z.i› 祭 **zi;* ‹ui.i› 尉 **wei;* ‹m.i› 密 **mi;* ‹ś.i.iŋ› 聖 **shieng,*   ‹tai ś.i› 太師 **taishï* (*not* tai sh); ‹śi.m.i› 審密 'Shenmi (name of clan)'; ‹tir.i› 鉄離 Tieli (personal name); ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› 'grandson'; ‹i.ri› name; ‹i.ri.s.er› 'name' (plural accusative).

2.340 ‹x›. Transcribes Chinese [x] and [kh]: ‹x.i.iŋ› 興 **hing*; ‹x.uŋ› 空 **kung;* ‹x.i› 期 **ki;* ‹x.ai› 開 **kai;* ‹x.ui› 徽 **hui;* ‹x.ah› 客 *kei(?);* ‹x.iú› 許 **hiu;*   ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空 **sheusïkung;* ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› 開國伯 **kaigueibai;* ‹oŋ iŋ xi› 黃應期 **ong ingki* 'Huang Yingqi (name)'; ‹xe.dú.ún go.er› 'horizontal tents 橫帳'

2.341 ‹er›. This graph is very common in both verbal and nominal suffixes. Its pronunciation is hard to determine, as it does not appear in Chinese words. Chinggeltei 1992 notes that may have a similar morphological function to ‹ar›, a perfective suffix. The main vowel in is [a], so in it may be [e]. Ji Shi 1988 equated   ‹te.bu.ei.er tai oŋ› with 撻不也大王 'great prince Tabuye' Aisin Gioro 2004 writes ‹ar› for , and ‹er› for . In a recent unpublished article, Chinggeltei has also made a convincing case for and being ‹ar› and ‹er›. As a verbal suffix, it indicates a past tense. As a nominal suffix, it indicates the accusative, and perhaps the instrumental.

2.342 Cf. ‹342.bo êm.ci› corresponds to 'to drink one's fill' (Langjun). It could possibly mean 'wine' and possibly be derived from 酒.

2.343

2.344 ‹ud›. Gao Lujia 1988 noted that clan name 耶律 Yelü corresponded in the texts to ‹ei.ra.u.ud›. is a plural marker. Liu Fengzhu 95, Ji Shi 94 noticed that ‹cu.úŋ.ud› corresponds to the name 崇古德 **chunggudei',* confirming as ‹ud›. ‹dú.ur g.iŋ› ~ ‹dú.ur g.iŋ› 'eastern capital'.

2.345 ‹uŋ›. , and ‹uŋ› are allographs. ‹ju.uŋ› 中 *zhung;* ‹tu.uŋ› 同 *tung;* ‹g.uŋ› 公 *gung,* 功 *gung;* ‹g.iu.uŋ› 宮 *gung.* ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ› 'the Changninggong palace 長寧宮'; ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空;   ‹du tu.uŋ› *dutung* 都統;   ‹s.iáŋ g.uŋ› *sianggung* 相公.

2.346 ‹uŋ›. An allograph of 2.345.

2.347 ‹ói›. An allograph of 2.107. Cf. ‹er› 2.341.

2.348 ‹e›. An allograph of ‹e› 2.109.   ‹û e› '*yu yue* 于越' and   ‹y.e g.ui oŋ› 'Yueguowang 越 國王 prince of the state of Yue';   ‹neu.e mó› 'empress'

2.349 ‹ge›. An allograph of 2.112.

2.350 . An allograph of 110 or ‹d›. Cf. Zhong 23:   'Tiande' [a reign title] is usually written   ‹d.iu.rěn›.

2.351

2.352 ‹î›. This is rare. It is found in   ‹w.u g.î ui.i› for 武騎衛 *wugiwei.* An allograph is 114.

2.353 ‹ï›. Allograph of . Used to transcribe Chinese retracted [ï]: ‹z.ï› 紫 *zï* ; ‹z.ï› 子*zï* ; ‹sh.ï› 使 *shï* 'messenger, ambassador'; ‹sh.ï› 侍 *shï* 'attendant';   ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› 國子祭酒 *guizï ziziu.*

2.354 ‹dź›. Possibly an allograph of ‹dz› 2.104.   appears in an inscription on a mirror, where it seems to mean 'four seasons 四時'

2.355 ‹ordu›. Ch. 斡魯朵. Liu Fengzhu 1984 noticed that in Dilie the word for the 大安 Da'an reign period, normally written   ‹ú.dû.ó.o.ón› was written   ‹ordu.ó.o.ón›. The 重熙 Chongxi reign period, generally written   ‹ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar›, was written   ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. This suggests ‹ordo› =   ‹ú.dû›. Other forms are: ‹ordo.u›   ‹ordu.ú›   ‹o.ordu.u›   ‹o.ordu.ú›. In Yongning 41 we find by itself: ‹p.úr.u.ul p.úr.u.ul m.o ordu› ' great *ordu*' (the meaning of   ‹p.úr.u.ul› is unknown). ‹ordu› often has inflected or varied forms: (1)   ‹ordu.u›,   ‹ordu.u.ur›,

𗼻𗥤𗹦 ‹ordu.u:dú›, (2) 𗼻𗰜 ‹ordu.ú›, 𗼻𗰜𗴲 ‹ordu.ú.ur› (3) 𗁅𗼻𗥤𗴲 ‹o.ordu.u.ur›, 𗁅𗼻𗥤𗹦 ‹o.ordu.u.dú›, 𗁅𗼻𗥤 ‹o.ordu.u› 𗁅𗼻𗥤𗵘 ‹o.ordu.u:un› (4) 𗁅𗼻𗰜𗴲 ‹o.ordu.ú.ur›. Cf. 𗼻𗥤𗴲 𗦳𗰜 ‹ordu.u.ur hur.ú› 'officer in charge of the *ordu*'

2.356 𗴺. cèn. Mnemonic from 尘

2.357 𗍫 ‹úŋ›. 𗰜𗍫 ‹z.úŋ› ~ 𗰜𗍫 ‹s.úŋ› 宗 **zung* ; 𗴺𗍫 ‹p.úŋ› **fung* 奉; 𗹦𗵘 𗰜𗍫 ‹śi.ŋ s.úŋ› 'Shengzong 聖宗'; 𗏴 𗰜𗍫 ‹tai z.úŋ› 'Taizong 太宗'

2.358 𗏁 ‹mû›. 𗵘 𗰜𗵆 𗹦𗵆 𗏁𗰜𗵆 𗥃𗹦 𗹦𗵆 𗏴𗵆 𗏁 𗥤𗵘𗍫 𗵆𗵘 𗰜 𗹦𗵘𗍫 𗹦 𗥃𗥤𗴺 𗴺𗁅𗵘 ‹HEAVEN t.ud yủ.úr ai.se.er, ja.aŋ m.in d.un mû ei.ie:en x.iŋ THREE g.iu.uŋ ur:en fu g.iu.uŋ sh rèn.ei.ii p.o.or› as 'in the first year of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander of the Zhangmin, Dunmu and Yanqing palaces' Shi and Yu 2001. The only palace in the Liao period which had a name of which the first word was *dun* was the 敦睦宮 Dunmu Palace. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:513.

2.359 𗴺

2.360 𗾧 ‹poŋ›. A compound character, made from 𗴲 ‹p› and 𗍫 ‹oŋ›. Langjun: 𗍫𗹦 𗹦𗵆 𗤁 𗾧 𗏴𗹦 𗢳𗵆 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› **shangshiu zhïfang langzhung* 尚書職方郎 中'

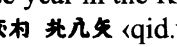
2.361 𗗙 ‹én›. 𗗙 is an allograph. In verbal suffixes 𗗙 ‹én› corresponds to 𗁅 ‹án›.

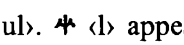
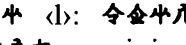
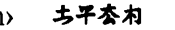
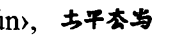
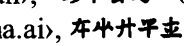
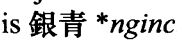
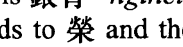
2.362 𗥃 ‹io›. Perhaps 𗥃 125 ‹ió› is an allograph. 𗊴𗥃 ‹b.iau› 驃 **biau;* 𗹦𗥃 ‹m.iau› 廟 **miau;* 𗰜𗥃 ‹s.iau› 小 **siau,* 𗹦𗥃𗵘 ‹ś.iau.u› 少 **shau;* 𗏴𗥃𗵘 ‹l.iau.u› 略 **liau.* 𗏴𗥃𗹦 ~ 𗏴𗥃𗰜 ‹l.iau.qú› ~ ‹l.iau.qu› '*bing, ding:* third and fourth of the ten stems 丙丁'

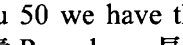
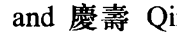
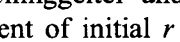
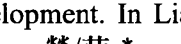
2.363 𗼇

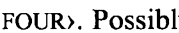
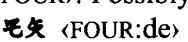
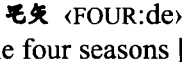
2.364 𗀀 This graph only appears once in the corpus. It is probably based on an eroded or unclear inscription.

2.365 𗵆 ‹qid›. See 3.170.
𗹦𗵘 𗗙 𗵆𗵘𗵆 𗹦 𗰜𗊴𗊏𗁅𗾞 𗹦 𗵆 𗹦𗹦 𗏴 𗵘 𗵆 𗵆𗵘

‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai tau sair THREE DAY.de BORN:er›
'The king was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, white horse year in the Kitan reign period Da'an'

'In the writing of the Kitan State'

2.366 ‹ul›. ‹l› appears with unrounded vowels, ‹ul› with rounded vowels: ‹l›:  ‹t.em.le.gi›, ‹s.ún.le.gi.ge.le.gi›,  ‹x.ui.ri.ge.le.g.én›. ‹ul›: ‹eu.ul.gi›,  ‹eu.ul.g.en›  ‹eu.ul.ge.en›,  ‹eu.ul.ge.ei›, ‹eu.ul.ge.ún›, ‹eu.ul.ge.er›, ‹eu.ul.ge.ii›, ‹ra.l.u.ul.ha.ai›,  ‹ra.l.u.ul.ha.a.al›. Cf.  ‹u.ul› 'winter', Mo. *ebül*, Da. *ugul*.

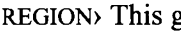
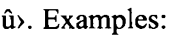
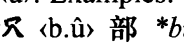
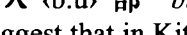
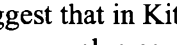
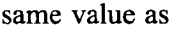
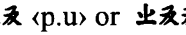
2.367  ‹źuŋ›. Xu 2: ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ źuŋ □□□›.  ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› is 銀青 **ngincing* in the official title 銀青榮祿.*yinqing ronglu*. corresponds to 榮 and the last three spaces would be a transcription of 祿 **lu*. In Xu 50 we have the name  ‹źuŋ ś.eu.u›. Xuwang had six sons: 彭壽 Pengshou, 長壽 Changshou, 福壽 Fushou, 德壽 Deshou, 榮壽 Rongshou and 慶壽 Qingshou. 榮壽 Rongshou must be ‹źuŋ ś.eu.u›. Chinggeltei and others write *žuŋ* or variants for , but the development of initial *r* in the Mandarin second tone in such words is a later development. In Liao Chinese, 榮 was presumably read **iung*. is derived from 榮/荣 **yung* as  is derived from 永.

2.368 ‹FOUR›. Possibly [dur]. The word for 'fourth' is spelled out  ‹d.ur.er›.  ‹FOUR:de› is the locative form. Note also  ‹FOUR po.dź› 'the four seasons 四時'

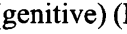
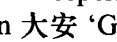
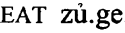
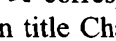
2.369 An allograph of , used with masculine nouns.

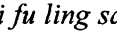
2.370

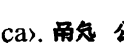
2.371 ‹REGION› This graph seems to mean 'border, border area'

2.372  ‹û›. Examples: ‹xu.û› 護 **hu*, ‹d.û› 度 **du;*  ‹ś.û› 蜀 **shiu;*  ‹b.û› 部 **bu*. Its usage is similar to  ‹ú›; vowel harmony would suggest that in Kitan it is a front vowel. In Chinese words it seems to have the same value as  ‹ó› and  ‹u›. 部 **bu* is written ‹b.û›, ‹pu.ó›,  ‹p.u› or ‹p.u.u›. In Kitan words we can also see ‹û› and

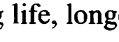
 ‹u› exchange, as in the stem 'to marry [of a woman] 嫁', which is written ‹û.ul.ge› or ‹u.ul.ge. is the stem of 'to give', cf. Mo. *ög-* . ‹û› is also found in ‹û e›, *yuyue* 于越, a title also used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* 'counsel' Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432. ‹û›, ‹ú› and ‹iú› all transcribe Chinese [u]. ‹l.i b.û sh.ï l.aŋ›; ‹HEAVEN ńi.l.û.er› 'reign title: Kaitai 開泰' ‹û.ui› 'give 給與'; ‹û.ul.ge.al› 'to marry (of a woman) 嫁'; also ‹û.ul.ge.al›; ‹û.ul.ge.l.iń›; ‹û.ul.ge.ei› (suffixed forms of 'marry').

2.373 ‹GREAT›.  ‹GREAT GOLD gúr:en› 'The Great Jin Dynasty 大金國' (genitive) (Langjun); ‹GREAT d.iu.rėn› reign title: Dakang 大康 'Great Prosperity';  ‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón›: reign title: Da'an 大安 'Great Peace'; ‹GREAT g.en.ún› 'great sadness'; ‹GREAT doro.a.án›: reign title: Dading 大定 'Great Settlement';  ‹GREAT zû.ge.er›: reign title: Tianfu 天輔 'Heavenly Assistance' Note here corresponds to 天 'heaven' not 大 'great'  ‹GREAT s.en›: reign title Changshou 長壽 'Great Longevity'; ‹GREAT ei.ie.ra.u›: reign title: Taiping 太平 'Great Peace'

2.374 ‹tai› ‹tai ui› 太尉 **taiwei* 'defender in chief'; ‹tai oŋ› 大王 'great prince'; ‹tai.bo› *'tai bao* 太保 grand protector'; ‹tai ś.iŋ› 'great sage 大聖'; ‹tai z.ú› **Taizu* 太祖: Taizu, name of emperor'; ‹tai hoŋ tai heu› 太皇太后 ; ‹tai sh›太師 'grand preceptor'; ‹tai ś.i› *taishi* is a more assimilated form of 太師 than ‹tai sh›;  ‹tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iáŋ sh› 太傅領三省事 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* 'grand mentor and concurrent controller of the three departments'

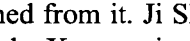
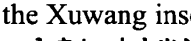
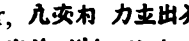
2.375 ‹ca›. ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ pu sh› 長寧宮副使 *chang ning gong fu shi* 'official title';  ‹go.n ca sh› 觀察使 **gonchashï* 'investigative official'; ‹ca.aŋ ś.eu.u› 長壽 *chang shou* 'long life, longevity'. Note ‹ca.aŋ› 尚 *shang* **shang*.

2.376

2.377 ‹oh›.  ‹b.oh c.eu:un pu.oŋ ŋ.iu sh.ï› 博州防御使 *Bozhou fangyushi* 'defence commissioner of the Bozhou district' Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that according to the geography section of the *Jinshi*, the only *zhou* during the Jin period which had officials with the title 防御使 *fangyushi* and which began with ‹bo› was 博州 Bozhou . It

is not known why and not one of the many other graphs for o/u was used in this word, unless it reflects the final stop in MC. *pak*. MC [a] > [ɔ] by this stage.

2.378 ᠄ Indicates repetition.

2.379 ‹TENT›.This graph is very similar to , and in *Research* was not distinguished from it. Ji Shi pointed out that and were quite different graphs. In the Xuwang inscription.  ‹zȯ.qó TENT:en› is preceded by a modifier,  ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er› 'maternal uncles 國舅';  ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zȯ.ó TENT:en› 國舅小翁帳 *guojiu xiaowengzhang* correponds to 'the younger (junior) branch of the (imperial) maternal uncles'

2.380 ‹qudug›. Liu, Chinggeltei, Aisin Gioro and others identify with 胡覩古 *hudugu* 'happiness, good fortune' An examination of the inscriptions, however, suggests that is in fact one graph: .

ENGLISH-KITAN GLOSSARY

> Le k'i-tan auquel remonte la glose **qašu* est aujourd'hui une langue pratiquement inconnue. Il est bien vrai que nous ayons deux longues inscriptions de cette langue, découvertes en 1922 par le P. Kervyn, mais elles demeurent indéchiffrées par les textes chinois. Ce matériel n'est pas énorme, mais un dépouillement rapide nous permet de réunir, sans compter les noms propres, près d'une centaine de mots communs ce qui est déja suffisant pour se rendre compte que nous sommes en présence d'une langue mongole. Cette première impression reçoit une confirmation de la part de Rašīdu'-d-Din qui, en parlant des Karakhitaï, fait remarquer que la langue, la figure et les coutumes de ces derniers ont la plus grande conformité avec celles des Mongols. C'est donc à bon escient que Pelliot affirmait que "les K'i-tan parlaient une langue étroitement apparentée au mongol encore que fortement palatalisée" Pour ma part j'ajouterais que c'était une langue mongole archaïque où l'initiale *h-* des XIIIe – XIVe siècles était représentée par *p-* et qu'elle contenait bon nombre d'éléments étrangers, ignorés du reste du mongol et empruntés au jou-tchen, po-hai, coréen, voire même à des langues sibériennes. Malheureusement la langue k'i-tan s'est éclipsée au contact du mongol proprement dit et il est actuellement malaisé de déceler ses vestiges parmi les dialectes mongols d'aujourd'hui. Néanmoins d'aucuns ont cherché à rapprocher le k'i-tan du dahour, aussi les Dahours modernes se considèrent-ils comme les descendants des K'i-tan.... Je penche moi-même à admettre que le dahour est identique au k'i-tan ou plus exactement, à un de ses dialectes. Louis Ligeti, "Mots de civilisation de haute Asie en transcription chinoise" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica,* Vol. 1, 1950, pp. 141-185, on pp. 166-167.

3.001 *again, then, after that:* 𘱖𘲦 ‹b.as› cf. Mo. *basa*, Ma. *basa*

𘲦𘲭 𘲪 𘱖𘲦 𘲭𘳿𘲪𘲧 𘲦𘲪 𘳿𘲦 𘲪𘲧

qi.hu ai b.as hu.jùr.il.ha.a.al ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ o.ho

𘲦𘲭 𘲪 𘱖𘲦 𘲧𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲧 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪

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𘲦𘲭 𘲪𘲦 𘱖𘲦 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪 𘲦𘲪

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'That year, he was then made [...] *zhongshuling* 中書令 (secretariat director). That year, he was then appointed *tongjian xiuguoshi* 同監修国史 (deputy state historiographer). That year, he was then appointed [...] *taifu* 太傅 (grand mentor) *ling sanshengshi* 領三省事 (concurrent director of the three departments), and prince of Zheng.' (Zhong 22-23)

3.002 *ancestor:* 𘲢𘲭 𘲰 ‹u.ur ai› 'preceding father; ancestor'
𘲢𘲭 ‹u.ur› means 'first, upper, previous' 𘲢𘲭 𘲰 ‹u.ur ai› is often written as one word: 𘲢𘲭𘲰 ‹u.ur.ai›.
𘲢𘲭𘲇 𘲰𘲍 ‹u.ur.iń ai:d› 'ancestors'
𘲉 𘲦𘲈𘲎 𘲏𘲎 𘲓 𘲑 𘲇𘲢𘲇𘲍 𘲢𘲭 𘲰
‹10000 g.úr:se hur.ú qa dȧ mu.u.ji:d u.ur ai›
'The khan ruling ten thousand states, [descendant] of many sacred ancestors'
𘲢𘲭 𘲰 𘲋𘲆 𘲎𘲎 𘲏𘲐 ‹u.ur.ai ki.ên s.ú hoŋ di›
'His ancestor was emperor Xuanzu'
𘲢𘲭𘲰 𘲍 𘲎𘲎 𘲌 𘲓 𘲏𘲐𘲏 𘲑
‹u.ur.ai tai s.ú HEAVEN GOLD [nigu] hoŋ di:in deu
'His ancestor was the younger brother of the emperor of the Shence reign period, Taizu'. (Xu 5)
𘲏𘲐 𘲢𘲭𘲇 𘲰𘲍 𘲋 𘲉 𘲎𘲍 𘲎𘲌𘲍 𘲋𘲈𘲋𘲑
‹hoŋ di u.ur.iń ai:d m.o doro:er û.úr.û.ad› (Renxian 4)
'The emperor presented (gave) a great ceremony to his ancestors'

3.003 *appoint:* 𘲋𘲉 ‹p.o› 'to be appointed to, to be promoted to 除', 'to become 成爲'

3.004 *army:* 𘲏𘲈 ‹cau.úr›. *Liaoshi* 炒伍倆 *chao-wu-er* 'to fight' MMo. *ča'ur* ; Ju. *čaur-ha* 岔乎 *čaur-ši* 岔芭 'troops, army'; Ma. *cooha*. In the Chinese version of the biography of Yelü Renxian, we find several references to various armies 軍, which correspond to the Kitan graphs 𘲏𘲈.

3.005 *autumn:*𘲇𘲑𘲈 ‹n.am.úr› MMo. *namur*, Mo. *namur*
𘲆 𘲰 𘲇𘲑𘲈 ‹qi ai n.am.úr› 'autumn of that year' (Gao 17).

3.006 *benevolent:* 𘲓𘲎𘲢𘲭 ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› 'benevolent, benevolence 仁. Also written 𘲓𘲏𘲢𘲭 ‹hur.ó.ur.bun›. 𘲓𘲎 ‹hur.ú› means 'to control' and may perhaps mean 'controlling, commanding' and seems to have little connection with the meaning of Chinese 仁 *ren* 'humane, humaneness'
𘲓𘲎𘲢𘲭 𘲇𘲢𘲑 𘲉𘲍 𘲁𘲈𘲁𘲍𘲇𘲍 𘲃𘲅 𘲏𘲐
‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bo.ń w.un hoŋ di›
'Benevolent sacred great filial cultured emperor' The posthumous title of the Daozong emperor 仁聖大孝文皇帝.

3.007 *biexu* 別胥 'a title of nobility for a woman; royal lady': 𘲋𘲍𘲎𘲭 ‹b.y.z.iú› ~ 𘲇𘲍𘲎𘲭 ‹b.y.z.iú›
𘲭𘲑𘲇 𘲏 𘲎𘲑𘲌 𘲇𘲢𘲆 𘲑𘲎 𘲋𘲭 𘲍 𘲍𘲭𘲇 𘲎𘲭𘲇 … 𘲁𘲢𘲓 𘲑 𘲆 𘲋𘲍 𘲋𘲍𘲭𘲇 𘲋𘲍𘲎𘲭

‹l.iu.iń go s.a.am ja.ri.qó mó:t p.ar TWO BIG yi.l.iń pu.is.iń …c.ur.én mó ku g.ui g.e p.y.z.iú›
'Liunin Gosam, prime minister, had two wives. The senior wife was the *yilimian* (princess consort) lady… the second was royal lady Guige' (Gao 9)
穴釜 丙 几 骨奴拿火
‹nai:d mó ku b.ý.z.iú› 'officials, wives and royal ladies' (Xu 54)
丙交方伏 拿和 刃化欠 坐灵为灵 业奴拿火 圣和 骨为
‹ei.ie.ên.iń s.en ja.r.qó 287.an.a.an p.y.z.iú TWO:en bo.qo› (Yong 14)
'The son of the two people, prime minister *Yenin *Isin and royal lady […]'

3.008 *big, elder, eldest:* **又反** ‹m.o› 'big, great' (masculine); **又** 'big, great' (feminine)

3.009 *black:* **虫夃** ‹yô.u› ~ **虫火** ‹yô.iú›. The reading of **虫** is unknown. See 2.321. Ji Shi suggested ***yo.* 虫夃** represents the cyclical terms 壬 and 癸 and corresponds to the colour black. There does not seem to be any connection between the Mo. and Ma. words for 'black' and **虫夃**.

3.010 *blood:* **和关乔** ‹c.i.is› 'blood; blood relative, clansman, relative' Cf. Ju. *seŋgi* 'blood, blood relations'
仕夃矛 和关乔矢 ‹mu.u.ji c.i.is:de›
'at (with) the associates of the blood relations (immediate family?) of the emperor'. (Zong 6)
和关乔釜币业木 公到奕 屋今 丙交斥夃 公半和与
‹c.i.is d.ad.ha.ar n.iû.úr KNOW.t ei.ie.ra.u n.ai.c.én›
'His relationships with his blood relations and his administration of the tribes… were harmonious'

3.011 *blue:* **拿粤余** ‹s.iau.qu› ~ **拿粤丈** ‹s.iau.qú›. **拿粤余** ‹s.iau.qu› corresponds to 甲 *jia* and 乙 *yi*: first and second of the ten stems. This corresponds to 'wood' in the five elements and 'blue' in the five colours.

3.012 *Book of Documents* (Shujing):
戈火尺 今勺 又反 父 公金釜和 与平答丙 习斥 业反 今丙习关 木廾业
‹ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d.en eu.ul.ge.ei ia.ra p.u t.iu.rėn.er ar.u.l›
The *Book of Documents* says: "Great Heaven has no affection, it helps only the virtuous" (Nu 33) From *The Charge to Zhong of Cai* 書經：蔡仲之命. Translation from Legge. Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.013 *Book of Odes* (Shijing):
兆谷 今勺 冬木 公半和关 乃亦 丑 丙夃 几尺火 半 丙

‹sh.ï te.gu as.ar n.ai.c.er giů.ün ss hor.u ku.û.un ai mó› (Zongjiao 19)
'The *Book of Poetry* says: "The peaceful and happy lord is the father and mother of his people" Kitan translation of 豈弟君子, 民之父母 *qi di jun zi, min zhi fu mu* "How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign be the parent of the people?" (Legge). Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.014 *border, place*: 乂𘓐 ‹xe.ci› possibly *jiang* 'border area 疆' or *jing* 'territory 境' Cf. Ju. 采亦 *hečen(i)* Ki. 033 城 *chéng* 'city, city wall'
𘓐 𘓐𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐𘓐𘓐 乂𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐𘓐𘓐, 𘓐𘓐 乂𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐𘓐𘓐
‹FOUR po.dź:en l.iau.ra mo.ci.ge.en, EIGHT xe.ci.ń xu.[ ].193.ai› (Daozong 17)
This phrase cannot be understood, but seems to have the same pattern as the common Chinese expression 四時八方 *si shi ba fang* 'the four seasons and the eight directions'

3.015 *born, to be born:* 𘓐 ‹BORN› See 2. 238.
𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐𘓐
‹FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN.er› (masculine suffix)
'He was born on the third day of the fifth month'. (Zhonggong 6)
𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐
‹hoŋ tai heu:un BORN:én DAY› (feminine suffix)
'The day the empress dowager was born' (Renyi 10)
𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐
‹g.uŋ c.e.en.e ś.a.rí na.ha.án.er m.o TENT.en yi.il.iń
𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐
s.êŋ g.uŋ:un bo.qo
𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐
ho.le.bo.ń aú.ui TWO:en m.as.qó bo.qo HEAVEN ú.dû.ha.a.ar
𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐
TEN WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY:de BORN.er›
'The eldest son of her highness *Holbun, the daughter of the *yilimian* (princess consort) of the great tent of the maternal uncles, and lord *Chene, court attendant, was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon (*gengchen*), the tenth year of the Chongxi period'. (Nu 9)
𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐
‹car.a.án g.ui.ń ja.ri.qó BORN.il.ún›
'The prime minister 宰相, Chara Guiyin was born' (Ren 5)
𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐 𘓐𘓐
‹neu mó.n BORN.én DAY go.er qa û:er›
'On the day of the the empress' birth, the khan of the household gave [her this]'

3.016 *bureau of seals and tallies* (印牌司): 𗈪 𗊴𗹦𗍫 ‹doro p.ai.ss›
𗈪 𗊴𗹦𗍫𗐱 𗅋𗐱𗆧
‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí› (Gao 2)
'court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司郎君'
𗆧𗍏 𗍊 𗍊𗅋 𗎭𗐱 𗍏𗍏 𗍫𗍏 𗈪 𗊴𗹦𗍫𗐱 𗅋𗐱𗆧 𗂧𗅆
‹eu.úr TWENTY FOUR de, ku.kả û.úr o.oi, doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí lú.i
𗍊 𗹦𗅋 𗈪 𗊴𗹦𗍫𗐱 𗅋𗐱𗆧 𗐱𗹦 𗍊 𗍊 𗹦𗅋 𗐱𗍏 𗍫𗍏 𗍏𗅆 𗍫𗍏
TEN ai:de doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.ri a.ai TEN ONE ai:de de s.uni DAY.i nai o.oi
𗌭𗍋𗍫 𗐱𗈪 𗐱𗂧 𗎭𗍏 𗅆𗎭𗐱 𗐱𗍊𗍫 𗍫𗍏
rẻn.ei.ii s.iau s.iáŋ g.ün i.ri.s t.em.le.ge.er›
'At the age of twenty four, he was a palace guard and a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the tenth year, he was a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the eleventh year, he was the head of night and day guards, and was granted the titles of and junior general'

3.017 *bury:* 𗍫 (061). ‹kė›.
𗍫𗍏𗍫 ‹kė.d.er› 'buried' - causative form: 𗍫𗍏𗊴𗐱 ‹kė.d.ha.ai› 'having been placed in a coffin 殯' 𗐱 ‹ai› is a converb suffix.

3.018 *caifang* 採訪 'investigation commissioner' 𗍫𗐱 𗅋 ‹s.ai poŋ›
𗐱𗂧𗅆 𗅆𗎭 𗍫𗐱 𗅋[= 𗊴𗅋] ‹hor.bo.ń x.eu s.ai poŋ (p.oŋ)›.
Liaoshi 77: Yelü Hou 吼 had the adult name Helu 曷魯 and held the office of *caifang* 採訪.
𗎭 𗍏𗍊 𗅆𗍋𗍫 𗅋𗐱𗆧 𗈪𗍫𗐱 𗍫𗍏𗍫 𗅆𗐱𗆧 𗍫𗐱 𗊴𗅋𗍏 𗈪𗍫 𗍫𗍏
‹SIX u.ur ńi.oh.ji ś.a.rí:en go.er:en uh.ul.ińs.ai p.oŋ:on go.er xi.ún›
'Ugulin 兀古鄰, investigation commissioner 采訪, was a descendant (?) of the house of Niguji, court attendant, of the six divisions'

3.019 *coffin of an emperor:* 𗅆 𗐱𗂧𗍫 ‹GREAT xo.mú.er› 'great catalpa'
𗅆 𗐱𗂧𗍫 𗍏𗌭𗊴𗐱 𗎭𗍫𗍊𗅋 𗈪 𗍫𗍊𗍏𗍏
‹GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, na.as.ha.án doro k.ii.û.ji› (Di 28)
'The great catalpa coffin was closed; this was called the ritual of causing-to-be at peace' (Di 28). 大梓宮 'great catalpa palace' refers to the coffin of an emperor or royal person.

3.020 *ceremony, ritual:* 𗈪 ‹doro›.
This graph seems to mean both 'ceremony, ritual' and 'seal [symbol of authority]'. Its reading may have been **doro/n*.
𗍊 𗍫𗂧𗍏𗍫 𗍊𗐱 𗐱 𗎭 𗍫 𗍊 𗍫 𗍫 𗍫 𗍫 𗍫 𗍫𗍏𗍫 𗍫𗍫𗍫 𗍫𗍫𗍫𗍫 𗈪 𗍫𗍊𗍏𗍏
𗍫𗍫𗍏𗍫 𗍫𗍏𗍫𗍫 𗍫𗍫𗍫𗍫 𗍫𗍫𗍫𗍫 𗍫𗍫

‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yủ.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY YONGFU hu.o.gỏ qa.bu.cẻn ńi.as.ha.a.án doro k.ii.û.ji›
'On the twenty third day of the sixth month of the Qiantong period, she was laid to rest together [with the emperor Daozong] in the Yongfu 永福陵 tomb with (appropriate) rituals' The Yongfu tomb was the joint tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi.

3.021 *chicken:* 𘍏𘋢𘍠 ‹te.qo.a› 'chicken'
Mo. *takiy-a*, MMo. *taɣaqu*, Ju. *tiko*, Ma *coho*. Zodiac animal, corresponds to the stem 酉.

3.022 *child, son:* 𘍠𘋢 ‹bo.qo› 'child'
𘍤𘍥 𘍠𘋢 ‹m.o bo.qo› 'eldest child'
𘍠𘋢𘍣 𘍠𘋢 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› 'grandson'

3.023 *children:* 𘍠𘋢𘍢 ‹bo.hu.án›. The plural form of 𘍠𘋢 ‹bo.qo›.
𘍠𘋢𘍢 ‹bo.hu.án› 'children, sons'
𘍠𘋢𘍢 𘍦 ‹bo.hu.án TWO› (Gu 48, Gu 16, Zhong 4, Zhong 29) 'two children'
𘍠𘋢𘍢 𘍧 ‹bo.hu.án THREE› (Renxian 2) 'three children'
𘍠𘋢𘍢 𘍨 ‹bo.hu.án FOUR› (Gu 18) 'four children'
𘍠𘋢𘍢 𘍩 ‹bo.hu.án FIVE› (Zhong 6) 'five children'
𘍪𘍫 𘍠𘋢𘍢 ‹mó:t bo.hu.án› 'female children, daughters'
𘍠𘋢𘍢 𘍬𘍭 𘍧‹bo.hu.án ai:d THREE› (Di 34) 'he had three sons'
Wang Hongli 1986 noted that 𘍠𘋢𘍢 ‹bo.hu.an› is similar to Mo. *baɣaču, baɣačuud* 'children' Toyoda adopted the reading *baɣaču* for 𘍠𘋢𘍢, the plural form of 𘍠𘋢 ‹bo.qo›, for which Toyoda wrote *baɣa*. The word is often followed by a numeral, as in the examples above.

3.024 *circuit, route* 路: 𘍮𘍯𘍰 ‹ńi.ô.ho›. Cf. 𘍮𘍯𘍱 ‹ńi.ô.úr› 部 *bu* 'division'
𘍮𘍯𘍰𘍲 𘍳𘍲 𘍴 𘍵 𘍮𘍯𘍰𘍲 𘍳𘍲 𘍶𘍷
‹ńi.ô.ho:en ủ.en NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ủ:en s.êŋ.un›
dongbeilu xiangwen 東北路詳穩 '*xiangwen* of the north east circuit'

3.025 *clear:* 𘍸𘍹 ‹as.ar›
𘍺𘍻 𘍸𘍹 ‹no.e as.ar› 'the earth is clear' 地清 (Xuanyi)
𘍳𘍠 𘍳𘍠 𘍺𘍻 𘍸𘍹, 𘍼𘍻𘍽 𘍼𘍻𘍽 𘍾 𘍰
‹ủ.bo ủ.bo neu.e as.ar, g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn HEAVEN ho›
[ ] [ ] earth clear, [ ] [ ] heaven turgid. (Xuanyi 28-29)
𘍸𘍹 ‹as.ar› 'clear' is also in the reign title 清寧 *Qingning* 'Clear and Tranquil'. 𘍰 ‹ho› should mean 濁 *zhuo* 'turgid'.

3.026 *close, cover:* 反子‹o.ju›
公布 伏业只火 反子业丰 力冬业为 亏 叔北只矛
‹ne.ra ńi.l.û.ui o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.a doro k.ii.û.ji›
'Then the tomb was closed. This was called the laying to rest ritual' (Zhi 22)
久业本 反子刘 夬 岁及 令土卡 尔为出
‹ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u s.eu.ká on.a.án›
'On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell' (Xu)

3.027 *cloud:* 土平‹eu.ul›. Cf. Mo. *egüle ~ egülen*
父 土平 雨交 令各火
‹HEAVEN eu.ul ca.úr s.êŋ.un›
Heaven cloud army *xiangwen*
'Commander of the Heaven Cloud Army 天雲軍詳穩'. Ji Shi, 1996:282-284. This is an inscription on a fish tally. 詳穩 *xiangwen* is a 'chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers' (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:129 n.42)

3.028 *come, arrive:* 乂火 ‹x.ui› 'to come, to arrive' Cf. Mo. *kür-* 'to reach, to arrive'

3.029 *compose* [*the text of an inscription*] 撰': 冈 ‹COMPOSE› Cf. 2.308
冈为本‹COMPOSE.a.ar› (PAST)
令金当 冈为本 犹几 丹冬 刘兔 几寸 公及 永爻
‹t.em.én COMPOSE.a.ar us.gi b.as ja.aŋ g.ia n.u ci:er›
'Temian composed this, and then the characters were written by Zhang Jianu' (Ren 1) (永爻 ‹ci.er›: masculine form of past tense)

3.030 *control:* 重令 ‹hur.ú› (重2.014) 'person in control, controller'
重令 丛 ‹hur.ú qa› 'controlling khan' (Daozong)

3.031 *country:* 几交 ‹g.úr›
几交村 ‹g.úr:en› (genitive) 几交令 ‹g.úr:se› (plural).
There are two Kitan words corresponding to 國 'state' The first is 几火 ‹g.ui› < **guei*. The second is a native Kitan word, 几交 ‹g.úr›. Cf. Ju. 囡土 Ki. 274 *gur-un*, Ma. *gurun* 'state'

几交令 公丰支业为出
‹g.úr.se n.ai.dzi.le.ha.a.án›
'to achieve friendly relations between states' (Ren 12)
圣 几交令 公丰支当 戈金 叔万
‹TWO g.úr:se n.ai.dz.én ś.em k.ei›

'This being called two states at peace…'

3.032 *court attendant:* 𗼇𗰗𗴲 ‹ś.a.rí› *langjun.* In the *Liaoshi* glossary 沙里 *sha-li* is translated *langjun* 郎君 'court attendant' 𗼇𗰗𗴲 ‹ś.a.rí› is clearly the Kitan form of 沙里.

3.033 *crow:* 𗲒 𗽾 ‹hu.ho›. In *Xuanyi,* 𗹦𗴶 𗼇𗼃𗰗 ‹g.u tau.lí.a› 'jade hare' forms a pair with 𗵘 𗲒𗽾 ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› in the set phrase 金烏西下, 玉兔東升 'the gold crow sets in the west, the jade hare rises in the east' The gold crow represents the sun, the jade hare the moon. So 𗲒𗽾 ‹hu.ho› must mean 'crow', or perhaps simply 'bird' Cf. Ju. *gaha* (Ki. 157) Ma. *gaha.*

3.034 *daughter:*𗽙 𗹠𗰜 ‹mó bo.qo› 'female child, daughter'
𗽙 𗹠𗲒𗵘 ‹mó bo.hu.án› 'daughters'
𗽙𗍫 𗹠𗲒𗵘 𗼻 𗼇𗴲 𗹦𗹠𗽙𗴲𗰗 𗲒𗴲𗵘𗴲𗰗 𗴲𗰜 𗼻 𗽾𗰗 𗹠𗰜 𗍫𗹦𗴲 𗴲𗼃 𗴲𗼇𗰜𗴲 𗼇𗼃𗴲𗰗
‹mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.as.qú x.ul.ó.o.ón bú.d na.ha.án.er:en ńi.qo tai sh:en bo.qo s.g.e ci.ŋ tz:de û.ul.ge.én›
'He had two daughters. The elder, *Hulon [of the 'external families', the Xiao], married Sege, recipient of edicts 乘旨, the son of Nehe, *taishi,* of the tent of the maternal uncles'
The meaning of 𗲒 is unknown, but it might refer to the *biebu* 別部, non-Yelü clans, or what was known in Chinese as the Xiao. The name Xiao has not been identified in the inscriptions, the spouses of Yelü clan members being referred to by tribal names.

3.035 *day:* 𗼇 ‹DAY›. See 2.159.

3.036 *deceased:*𗍫𗴲𗴲 ‹te.ge.er› (masculine) 𗍫𗴲𗰗 ‹te.ge.én› ~ 𗍫𗴲𗹦 ‹te.ge.n› (feminine) 'deceased'

3.037 *dew:* 𗼇𗵆𗽾 ‹ś.eu.kå› Cf. Mo. *sigüder* ~ *sigüderi*, Ju. *šileun* Ki. 010, Ma. *silenggi.*
𗹦𗼃𗴶 𗼇𗹠𗲒 𗼇 𗿋𗹦 𗼇𗵆𗽾 𗰜𗰗𗽙
ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.kå on.a:án›
'On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell 甘露降' (Xu wang)
3.038 *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注: 𗹦𗹦 𗼇𗼇 𗵘 ‹284.089 DAY.i ui›
𗼻 𗼃𗾞𗼃𗰗 𗼇𗰗𗴲 𗹦𗹦 𗼇𗼇 𗵘 𗼃𗹦𗲒𗾞𗲒 𗽙𗴶𗹦𗵘 𗲒𗹦𗹠 𗍫𗰗𗴶
‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí 284.089 DAY.i ui RECORD.gi.le.gi ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›

'On the basis of the matters recorded in the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注, this was composed by Yelü Gu, court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies' (Gao 2)

𐲢 𐲦 must refer to the emperor, the throne, or affairs of state.

𐲧𐲩 𐲘𐲤 𐲨 𐲼𐲦𐲩𐲘 𐲦𐲪 𐲦 𐲽𐲩𐲘 𐲘𐲪𐲨𐲘

‹k.em sȯ.or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji.en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu›

𐲤 𐲦𐲬 𐲾𐲘𐲪 𐲦𐲪 𐲘𐲤 𐲘𐲩𐲧𐲘 𐲧𐲩 𐲬𐲩 𐲘𐲤 𐲘𐲪𐲨𐲘

SIX u.úr yi.il.iń û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar›

'Having received the imperial edict, [on the basis of] the *Daily Agenda of the Seven Sacred Persons* [seven former emperors], Si Jianu of the household of *yilimian* (princess consort0 [*and*] the *yuyue* (?) of the six divisions composed this'. (Nu 1)

3.039 *die - honorific* 薨: 𐲨𐲦𐲪- **tur-* Usually with the past suffix: 𐲨𐲦𐲪𐲨𐲦𐲤 ‹tu.úr.bo.ń›~ 𐲨𐲦𐲪𐲘𐲘 ‹tu.úr.bun› ~ 𐲨𐲦𐲪𐲨𐲦𐲩 ‹tu.úr.b.ún› 'died, passed away'

𐲧𐲩 𐲦𐲪 𐲤 𐲩 𐲨𐲦𐲪 𐲦𐲪 𐲧𐲩 𐲧𐲩 𐲦𐲪𐲘𐲪𐲤 𐲤𐲦𐲪 𐲨 𐲦𐲪 𐲨𐲦𐲪𐲨𐲦𐲤

‹mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.úi.i oŋ:on p.i p.u.gȯ.l.iń eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr.bo.ń›

'She was made consort to the prince of Song and Wei, the eldest younger brother of the sacred one [emperor]. At the age of twenty six, she died.' (Yong 17-18)

𐲤𐲦𐲪 𐲫 𐲩 𐲨𐲦𐲪𐲘𐲘

‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR. tu.úr.bun›

'At the age of seventy four, he died' (Di 9)

𐲦 𐲩 𐲨 𐲨 𐲦𐲪 𐲤𐲦𐲪 𐲭 𐲬𐲪 … 𐲨𐲦𐲪𐲨𐲦𐲤

‹nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY.de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE de tu.úr.bo.ń› (Gu 13)

'On the eleventh day of the first month, at thirty five years of age … he died'

𐲪 𐲩𐲢𐲢 𐲤𐲦𐲪 𐲢 𐲩𐲘 𐲧𐲩 𐲨𐲦𐲪𐲩𐲢𐲢

‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho yủ.úr ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.úr:s.ii› (Han Dilie 5)

'In the first year of the Tonghe 統和 reign, after the prince of Qin 秦王 died…'

3.040 *die - of an emperor* 崩: 𐲘𐲬𐲫- ‹l.iu.rėn-›

𐲹𐲪𐲤 𐲩𐲢𐲢 𐲤𐲤 𐲦𐲪𐲨𐲦𐲤 𐲤𐲩 𐲢𐲪𐲩𐲤𐲘 𐲘𐲬𐲪𐲩𐲪𐲘 𐲬𐲦𐲪

‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun tá.u

𐲪 𐲩𐲭𐲘𐲢𐲦𐲤 𐲧 𐲥 𐲤𐲤𐲦𐲤 𐲭𐲧𐲩𐲪𐲤

HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i

𐲢 𐲫 𐲩𐲦𐲢 𐲢𐲦𐲪𐲤 𐲩𐲢𐲦 𐲘𐲬𐲫𐲭

SOUTH WEST se.mu.én, ordu.u.dú s.a.kả l.iu.rėn:er›

'Xingzong, the sacred, great, filial eternal (𐰉𐰇 ‹tá.u›) Chongxi emperor, while in residence in a *miri* (?) of the *nabo* of the south west hunting *ordo*, passed away'

Note the form in 𐰋 ‹én› when the verb refers to a woman:

𐰃𐰏𐰍 𐰇𐰇 𐰴𐰆 𐰉 𐰋𐰓𐰃...𐰋𐰑𐰍...𐰃𐰍𐰏𐰇 𐰃𐰉𐰋

‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rèn.én›

'Xuanyi, earth mother in the crow *nabo*, passed away' (Xuanyi).

3.041 *die of an illness:* 𐰃𐰃𐰍- ‹s.em.ii-› 'contract a fatal illness, die of a fatal illness'

𐰇 𐰃𐰋 𐰖 𐰃 𐰀 𐰇 𐰇𐰏 𐰋𐰏 𐰇 𐰖𐰏 𐰃𐰃𐰍𐰇

‹GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY.de eu.úr FORTY FIVE.de s.em.ii.er›

'On the eighth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of the Shouchang period, he contracted a fatal illness'. (Ren 1)

𐰇 𐰇 𐰆 𐰇𐰏 𐰋𐰏 𐰴 𐰃𐰀 𐰃𐰃𐰍𐰇 𐰃𐰇

‹EIGHT MONTH TWO DAY eu.úr THIRTY FOUR.ur s.em.ii.er te.ge:er›

'On the second day of the eighth month, at the age of 34, he contracted a fatal illness and died'. (Hong 11)

3.042 *die* - plain form: 𐰉‹iu› 'not exist, die' (亡, 無)

𐰋𐰓𐰃 𐰖 𐰖 𐰘 𐰇𐰖 𐰇𐰏 𐰋𐰏 𐰴 𐰉

‹ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE♂ mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa:iäŋ.de iu› (Jin 38)

'*Holebun passed away on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy' (𐰃𐰍𐰏𐰇 ‹xa:iäŋ.de› 'exactly' is used after thirty, forty etc. when there is no other numeral. It might mean 'exactly').

𐰋𐰏 𐰖 𐰆𐰏 𐰴 𐰃𐰃𐰍𐰇𐰉

‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO LOC THAT s.em.ii:er PAST iu› (Yong 35)

'at the age of twenty two, he contracted that sickness and died'

3.043 *dilapidated:* 𐰉𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰃𐰇𐰇‹ei.iú.cė p.u.ui.i›

𐰉𐰇 𐰇𐰋 𐰃𐰍 𐰇𐰇𐰋 𐰇𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰋 𐰉𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰃𐰇𐰇 𐰇𐰇 𐰋𐰃𐰇

‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cèn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu.er›

'After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty; the palaces were dilapidated 坍塌; he felt very sad' (Langjun 2-3)

3.044 *disaster, catastrophe:* 𐰋𐰑𐰍 ‹hu.as.al›

𐰴 𐰍𐰋 𐰋 𐰋𐰑𐰍 𐰇

‹ONE BORN/LIFE:én hu.as.al qudug›

'life is disaster and good fortune' (Nu 37).
丸 丞伏 几用 弟 曲爻村 犬几矢 刘矣方为 禄 万火平刘 丙令刘 丙万与 乂关 闪令北
‹FIVE.NINE.ń g.iŋ jau go.er:en us.gi:de h.as.al.a qudug ei.au.ul.hu mo.t.hu hor.ei.én x.i 307.s.ii›
'In the writings of the five classics 五經 and the nine classics 九經, and the hundred schools of thought 百家, disaster and good fortune [alternate?] ' (Nu 35-36).

3.045 *division:* **夭化** ‹u.úr› 'administrative district' *Research* identified **夭化** ‹u.ur› with 院 *yuan*. Cf. 糸伐 Ki. 197 **yule*, cf. Jin *Dict.* p. 247 **ou-le* 院 *yuan*.

3.046 *dog:* **伏为** ‹ńi.qo›. *Liaoshi* glossary: 捏褐 **nieho*; Mo. *noqai*, Ju. *niaha* Ka. 234, Ma. *niyahan* 'puppy' *Liaoshi* 116: 捏褐耐, 犬首也 *niehe nai* means 'head of a dog' The *Qidanguo zhi* gives the same word as 捏褐妳 [niehe ni]. **伏为** ‹ńi.qo› is interpreted in a variety of ways: *nəxi ~ noxi; nəxəi,noxi, njaqa, ñaxa, ñaha, ñaqa.* The modern forms of Mongol all have [no] in the first syllable. Luo Fucheng identified **伏为** as the cyclical sign 戌.

3.047 *dogs and falcons:* **伏为 戈夬为** ‹ńi.qo ś.au.a›
为 屮刘久伏 几太奕 丞 兆 [....] 公火 仉夭 伏为 戈夬为 重爭 厓爻
‹deu le.bú.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh [...] n.ui kú.u ńi.qo ś.au.a hur.ú KNOW:er›
'His younger brother *Lubugin 魯不堇 *Kunggur 控骨里, *taishi* 太師, was in charge of the palace storehouses 内庫 and control of dogs and falcons' (Han Dilie 20).

3.048 *dragon:* **戈** ‹lu› is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰. The animal corresponding to 辰 is the dragon. **戈** transcribes 祿 , so can be read ‹lu›. Cf. Mo. *luu*, Tu. *luu* 'dragon' from a dialect form of Ch. 龍 *long* 'dragon' In Zhonggong 24 there are two empty spaces before **戈 戈由** ‹lu ún.yó›. This may be the common word for the emperor, 龍顔 *long yan* 'dragon face, imperial counternance' (Liu Fengzhu 1983).

3.049 *drink:* **圣杀** ‹êm.ci› - stem form is **圣** ‹êm›
金村 灾圣 为奕 曲骨 圣杀 乂关丞只火 业币屮戈
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm:ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún›
'After he drank wine 酣飲 with the local officials, he returned happy' (Langjun).

3.050 *dutong* 都統 'campaign commander': **而讨 重爭** ‹cau.ji hur.ú›. **重爭** ‹hur.ú› means 'person in command of' Suggestions for **而讨** ‹cau.ji› have

been 楚古 *chugu* 'an official in charge of the interrogation of prisoners in the northern adminstration' and 旗鼓 *qigu* 'banners and drums' It is probably connected with 𘮋𘰾 ‹cau.úr› 'war, battle', so 𘮋𘰾 𘰾 ‹cau.ji hur.ú› means 'commander of the army' If 𘰾 ‹ji› is a deverbal noun suffix, 𘮋𘰾 ‹cau.ji› would mean 'those who engage in battle', that is, troops. 都統 is also transcribed 𘰾 𘰾 ‹du tu.uŋ›.

3.051 *earth:* 𘰾 ‹neu› or 𘰾𘰾 ‹neu.e› Also written 𘰾𘰾.

3.052 *earth mother:*
𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾 𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾
‹neu.e tủ.gi.n HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ.di:in l.iu.rẻn.s.ii›
'After the earth mother (empress) and the emperor (son of heaven) passed away... Cf. also 3.063.

3.053 *east* (1): 𘰾𘰾 ‹ud.ur›. Ji Shi thinks that 𘰾𘰾 should be read **doru*, reading 𘰾 **do* rather than ‹ud›, cf. Mo. *doruna*. See also Wu Yingzhe 2004a. 'East' is written with the logogram 𘰾 2.072. In the Yuan dynasty Mongol-Chinese glossary, the *Zhiyuan yiyu,* the equivalents of east, west, south and north in Middle Mongolian are *dorona, hörene, emüne and ümere,* so Toyoda 1992 suggests these readings for the Kitan logographs. Aisin Gioro 2004 suggests a simplified version: *doru, xoru, əmu* and *umə.* Another set of Mongol terms for the directions are *J̌egün, baraɣun, emüne* and *xoina.* The Kitan terms are 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹ci.g.en› ~ 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹dzi.g.en› 'left' (3.114) and 𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹bo.ra.ia.an› ~ 𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹bo.ra.a.an› 'right' (3.172).
𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹ud.úr g.iŋ l.iú ś.eu›
'the *liushou* of the eastern capital 東京留守'
𘰾 𘰾 𘰾𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾𘰾
‹NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ủ:en s.êŋ.un p.od.i o.oi› (Zongjiao 13).
'having become the ... *xiangwen* 祥穩 of the Northeast route...
𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹ńi.ô.ho› has the same stem as 𘰾𘰾 ‹ńi.ô.úr› 部 *bu* 'division', and here corresponds to 路 *lu* 'route' 𘰾𘰾 is 𘰾𘰾 ‹s.êŋ.un› *xiangwen*, here corresponding to 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general' 𘰾𘰾 ‹o.oi› is the converb of the verb 'become' So 𘰾 must be the equivalent of 東 *dong* 'east'. The graph 𘰾 is very similar to 𘰾 'younger brother'
𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾
‹eu.ul pu.kả.û.er MOUNTAIN:en EAST›
雲慶山之東 'to the east of Yunqing mountain' (?) (Daozong 6).

3.054 *edict:* 𘰾𘰾 ‹k.em›. Ch. 敕 *chi,* Mo. *ǰarliɣ,* Ju. *alawa-(gi)* (*-gi* is instrumental). Ma. *hese.*

𐲀𐲤𐲢 𐲘𐲦𐲰 𐲑𐲢𐲘𐲍 ‹k.em sȯ:or COMPOSE.a.ar›
'he composed [this] by the order of an imperial edict 奉敕撰'
𐲀𐲤𐲢 𐲰𐲍 𐲰𐲍 ‹k.em te.gu› 'the edict says 敕曰'
𐲀𐲤𐲢 𐲘𐲦𐲰 ‹k.em sȯ:or› (Nu 2) 'the edict was received 敕奉'

3.055 *eight:* **𐲰** (007) **𐲰** ‹EIGHT›. Masc. form: **𐲰** (008) There is no evidence from the ordinals for the reading of **𐲰**. **𐲰𐲁𐲪** is 'eighth, ordinal form of **𐲰**'
𐲰 𐲁𐲤𐲍𐲰 ‹EIGHT mu.u.ji:d› 'the eight sacred ones' = 'The eight emperors of the dynasty'

3.056 *eighty:* **𐲁** ‹EIGHTY› (300). Cf. **𐲁** 301.
𐲓𐲍𐲁 𐲍𐲍𐲁
‹eu.úr EIGHTY tu.úr.bun› (Xu 38)
'He died at the age of eighty'
𐲁 𐲘𐲑 ‹EIGHTY bả.en› (Renxian 42) 'eighty *li*'

3.057 *elder sister:* **𐲎** ‹au›. In 王易 Wang Yi, 燕北錄 *Yanbei lu*, we read 赤娘子者, 番語多呼謂之掠胡奧: the *chiniangzi* [red woman] in the barbarian language is generally called *lüehu ao*' The word corresponding to 娘子 *niangzi* 'royal lady' in the inscriptions is **𐲪𐲋** ‹aú.ui›. 掠胡 MC *liak-hu* must be **𐲦𐲒𐲎 ~ 𐲦𐲒𐲍** ‹l.iau.qú ~ l.iau.qu›. See 3.166.

3.058 *eldest child:* **𐲘𐲎 𐲁𐲍** ‹m.o bo.qo› 'big child = eldest child, eldest son 長子'
𐲘𐲍𐲘 ‹m.as.qó› 'eldest son 長子'
𐲘𐲍𐲘 𐲘𐲦𐲁𐲤 𐲍𐲀𐲢𐲪 𐲀 𐲘𐲑
‹m.as.qó uh.ul.iń d.em.er pu m.a›
'The eldest son, *Ugulin 兀古鄰 *Temer 特末, *fuma* [emperor's son-in-law]…'
𐲑𐲍 𐲁𐲒𐲰𐲇 𐲍 𐲘𐲍𐲘 𐲇𐲋𐲤
‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.as.qó g.ui.in› (Nu 26)
'He had two male children; the eldest was Guoyin 國隱'
Note the feminine form **𐲘𐲍𐲎** ‹m.as.qú›
𐲘𐲀𐲎 𐲓𐲯 𐲀𐲟 𐲀𐲤 𐲘𐲎 𐲊𐲑 𐲋𐲅 𐲇𐲯 𐲍 𐲁𐲒𐲪 𐲘𐲦𐲰𐲍
‹m.as.qú tu.uŋ s.ï n.iú m.o TENT:en x.iu g.uŋ tai bo:de u.ul.ge.ei›
'The eldest was *Tongzinü 童子女, having married Xiugong *taibao* 秀功太保 of the great tent…" (**𐲅** -ei = converb).
𐲘𐲍𐲀 ‹m.as.qu› 'first' corresponds to **𐲘𐲎** ‹m.o› 'big, eldest, first'

3.059 *emperor:* **𐲑 𐲒** ‹hoŋ di› < 皇帝 **hongdi.*
𐲑𐲒𐲤 ~ 𐲑𐲒𐲊 ‹hoŋ di:in› ~‹hoŋ di:en› 'of the emperor'

3.060 *empress:* 𘲢 𘲣 ‹hoŋ heu› < 皇后 **honghеu*; 𘲢𘲣 𘲤 ‹neu.e mo› 'empress' (earth mother). The *Liaoshi* provides us with a number of Kitan words for 'empress': 皇后, 忒里蹇, 可敦 and 耨斡麽(么). *Liaoshi* 116: 耨斡，后土稱. 麽(么), 母稱: '*neu-o*, the name of *houtu* 'empress of the earth'; 麽(么) means 母 'mother'. *Liaoshi* 71: 遼因突厥, 稱皇后曰可敦. 國語曰忒里蹇. 尊稱曰耨斡麽么，蓋以配后土而母之云. 'The Liao, following the Tujue, called the empress *kedun*. In their national language they say *telijian*. The respectful term is *nou-o-mo*, it seems to be equating the *houtu* 'the female earth deity' with *mu* 'mother' " 𘲢𘲣 𘲤 ‹neu.e mo› corresponds to 耨斡麽(么) **neu-e-mo*.

𘲦𘲧𘲨 𘲩𘲪 𘲢𘲣 𘲤 ‹s.ý.yen i.i. neu.e mo› 宣懿皇后 'Empress Xuanyi'

3.061 *empress dowager:*
𘲢 𘲫 𘲣 ‹hoŋ tai heu› < 皇太后 **hongtaiheu*.

3.062 *epitaph* 𘲬𘲭𘲮 𘲯𘲰𘲱 𘲲𘲦
‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú›
muzhiming 'epitaph, inscription on a tombstone 墓誌銘'

3.063 *establish:* 𘲯𘲮𘲳 ‹p.o.ju-› The stem is **poju-* 'establish' probably from 'to make, to be'
𘲯𘲮𘲳𘲴 ‹p.o.ju.ha-› 'to cause or order to arise, to raise, to establish'

3.064 *estate:* 𘲯𘲵𘲶 𘲯𘲷 ‹p.a.ar p.in›
𘲯𘲵𘲶 𘲯𘲷 𘲸 𘲹 𘲺𘲻
‹p.a.ar p.in SEVEN HUNDRED rí.i›
'estate of seven hundred households 邑食七百戶' (𘲺𘲻 rí:i 'household 戶')

3.065 *et cetera:* 𘲼𘲽 𘲼𘲽 ‹ci.ci› 'together with, *et cetera,* and others'
𘲦𘲾𘲵 𘲼𘲽 𘲼𘲽 𘲿 𘲀 ‹t.úŋ.a ci.ci ia deu›
'*Tuŋa and the others, his elder brothers and his younger brothers'

3.066 *eternal:* 𘲁(063) ‹ETERNAL› < 永'eternal'
𘲁𘲂 𘲃𘲄𘲷 ‹ETERNAL qudug hu.o.gǒ›
yongfuling 'Yongfu tomb 永福陵'
𘲅 𘲆𘲢𘲣 𘲁 ‹HEAVEN ta neu.e ETERNAL›
'Heaven and earth are eternal' (Daozong)
𘲦𘲇 𘲁 𘲈 𘲦𘲉 ‹s.en ETERNAL u t.oi›
'long life, eternal, good fortune (?) virtue (?)': 壽長福德: inscription on a bronze mirror.

The meaning of 𗈪𗂧 is uncertain, 德 'virtue' is usually written 𗍫𗅉 ‹d.ei› or 𗈪𗅉‹t.ei›.

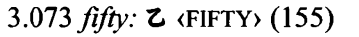
3.067 *eulogy :*𗆫𗃅𗂆 𗉘𗈪 𗊬𗊛 ‹g.en.ún c.ah w.un› 哀冊文'

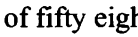
3.068 *falcon:* 𗂆𗊛𗃅 ‹ś.au.a›. *Liaoshi* 稍瓦 **shauwa* 'falcon'
𗁅𗂁 𗂆𗊛𗃅 ‹ńi.qo ś.au.a› 'dogs and falcons', *q.v.* Cf. Da. *fowoo ~ foɣoo* 'falcon'

3.069 *fall, descend:* 𗁅𗃅𗍊 ‹on.a.án› 降. See *dew*.

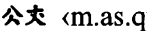
3.070 *father:* 𗍫 ‹ai›
𗅇 𗆫𗂧 𗊛𗊴 𗍫 𗈪 𗂆𗃅
‹mó g.uŋ dz.iú ai pu m.a› (Zhonggong)
'his mother was a princess … his father was the son in law of the emperor'
𗐱 𗍫 ‹bu ai› 'grandfather'
𗐱 𗐱 𗍫 ‹bu bu ai› 'great grandfather'
𗂆𗍊 𗍫 ‹m.o ai› 'great father' (eldest uncle)
𗉘𗏁𗋕 𗍫 ‹c.ur.én ai› 'second uncle 仲父'
𗊛𗏁 𗍫 ‹u.ur ai› 'ancestors'
𗍫𗍫 ‹ai:d› 'males'
𗍫𗍫 𗁅𗆫𗊬 ‹ai.d bo.hu.án› 'male child, son'
Note: 𗍫 ‹ai› also means 'year' The plural of 𗍫 ‹ai› 'father' is 𗍫𗍫 ‹ai:d›, which also means 'males' in a general sense; the plural of 𗍫 ‹ai› 'year' is 𗍫𗈪 ‹ai:se›.

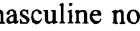
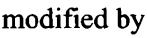
3.071 *female:* 𗅇 ‹mó›, plural ‹mó:t› 𗅇𗈪.
𗅇 ‹mó› means 'mother' and 'wife', and also refers to females generally, especially when followed by the plural suffix 𗈪 ‹t›.
𗅇𗈪 𗉘𗍫 𗌭 𗁅𗍫𗁅𗂆 𗌭
‹mó:t p.ar FOUR na.as.bo.ń ONE› (Zhi 13) (𗌭should be 𗌭 ?)
'He had four wives; one deceased'
𗅇𗈪 𗉘𗍫 𗌭 𗂆𗍫𗂧 𗁅𗉘𗍫𗍊 𗏁𗂧 𗁅𗍫 𗁅𗍫𗂆𗂆 𗅇𗍫 𗈪𗍫 𗈪𗂆𗍫 𗁅𗂆𗍫 𗁅𗁅𗍫 𗁅𗁅𗂆 𗁅𗁅𗍫 𗁅𗁅𗂆 𗁅𗁅𗍫 𗁅𗁅𗂆

3.073 *fifty:* 乙 ‹FIFTY› (155)

‹eu.úr FIFTY EIGHT p.iáu:er›
'at the age of fifty eight, he died (?)' (Linggong 18)

3.074 *filial piety:* ‹c.i.is.d.bun›;  ‹c.i.is.de.bo.ń›; ‹c.i.is.d.b.ún›. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 赤是得本 *chishideben* 'filial piety'; ‹c.i.is.d.bun bo.qo› 'filial son'

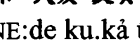
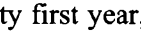
3.075 *first:* ‹mo› or (余) ‹m.as.qó ~ ‹m.as.qu› for masculine and ‹BIG› or ‹m.as.qú› for feminine. The basic meaning of ‹m.as.qó› is 'big, great', and is used for 'first' in enumerating members of a family. Note that ‹m.o› 'big' and 'great', both corresponding to 大 *da*, are used for masculine nouns and feminine nouns respectively. Some inanimate nouns are modified by ‹m.o›, others by 'great'

3.076 *first day of the lunar month* 朔:  ‹ho.le.bo.ń›.
This word means 'first', 'preface 序'. It is also a common name.

3.077 *five* ‹tau› 'five' Cf. Mo. *tabun,* Da. *tawu. Liaoshi* glossary: 討 *tao* 'five' : dotted form of 'five'
 ‹tau di:d› 'five emperors 五帝'
 ‹tau jau ai:de› 'In [= for the duration of] five hundred years'

3.078 *forty:* ‹FORTY› (145)

‹FORTY ONE:de ku.ká û.u o.oi [...] u.ur ś.a.rí rėŋ.i›
'In the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court attendant in the same bureau'

3.079 *four:* ‹FOUR›. The dotted form is . 'Four' is also written ~ ~ ‹260.úr› ‹t.ur.uh›, ‹d.úr.u›. is only found in . The ordinal form, 'fourth' is written ‹t.ur.er› for masculine nouns and  ‹t.ur.én› or for ‹d.ur.én› for feminine nouns. The stem form of 'four' is probably **dur.* Cf. Mo. *dürben.*
 ‹FOUR po.dz› 'the four seasons 四時'. (Inscription on bronze mirror).

‹t.ur.én ta.aŋ c.en g.ia n.u s.êŋ.un ś.ï›
'the fourth, mistress Tang was the wife (?) (‹ś.ï›) of Chen Jianu 陳家奴, *xiangwen* 詳穩 (Gu 18)

令化爻 乂用伏 万央几爻 令丰兴 朱赏 令哥
‹t.ur.er x.iŋ.iń ei.au.g.e t.ai.i ci.ŋ s.iaŋ›
'The fourth, *Hiŋin *Yauge was a *dai chengxiang* 大丞相'
Note the forms in **爻** *er* for men and **与** *én* for women.

3.080 *friendly:* **公丰朱** ‹n.ai.ci› ~ **公丰支**‹n.ai.dzi›.

3.081 *general*:**令哥 几亦** ‹s.iaŋ g.ün› ~ **令並 几亦**‹s.iáŋ g.ün›. Ch. **zianggün* 將軍.
The difference between **並** ‹iáŋ› and **哥** ‹iaŋ› is not known. They may be allographs, and are treated as such by most researchers.
几乂 赏夃 尖 戊勿 令並 几亦
‹gi.m ŋ.u úi ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün›
'general of the imperial insignia guard 金吾衛上將軍'
仲爪 戎 尖 戊勿 令哥 几亦
‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün›
'general of the dragon and tiger guards 龍虎衛上將軍'

3.082 *generation:* **公尕**‹n.on›
公尕矣 朱冬火夯 化几笠 业反用尘夯朱
‹n.on:de c.as.un.e ri.g.d p.o.gȯ.cėn.e.ci› (Ren 2)
'For generations they were appointed to the position of *yilijin*'

3.083 *give, provide:* **只** ‹û-›. Cf. Mo. *ög-* 'to give'

3.084 *goat:* **圣为** ‹êm.a› 'goat, mountain goat 山羊' Mo. *imaɣa* 'mountain goat' Corresponds to cyclical term 未.

3.085 *good fortune:* **捺** ‹qudug›. This graph is usually written as two graphs in modern Chinese transcriptions: **扌奈**. An examination of the rubbings of the inscriptions shows that these characters are written very close to each other, and are probably a single graph, perhaps derived from the cursive form of the Chinese character 福 *fu* 'good fortune, happiness' The Kitan word is transcribed in the Chinese texts as 胡覩古 *hu-du-gu* and 胡都 *hu-du*. A number of scholars have compared the word to Mo. *qutuɣ* 'bliss' and Ma. *hûturi* 'happiness' Cf. Ki. 343 兾羊 **hutur*, Ka. 740 **huturi*. In the *Jinshi* we read, "there is a victory stele, in the national language it is called *hu-tu-ai ge-man*. It is the place Taizu rallied the troops' The *Jinshi* glossary notes 與人同受福曰忽都 'to enjoy good fortune with other people is called *hu-du*' On the Jin victory stele *hu-tu-ai ge-man* is written 兾禹爿旅 **hutuŋai gaman*.

3.086 *good, goodness:* 𗹭𗗚 ‹ś.ia› or 𗹭𗍫𗴲 ‹ś.iá.ah›. Also 𗹭𗂧 ‹ś.ên›. Mo. *sain,* Ma. *sain.* 武珪 Wu Gui, 燕北雜記 *Yanbei zaji*: 七月十三日至十五日迎節，送節，哭節，遼人呼為賽離捨 'On the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she.* 賽離 *saili* means 'moon, month'; 捨 *she* means 'good'

𗹭𗍫𗴲 𗍊𗏁𗍫𗂧 𗅋𗤁 𗢳 𗥃𗤶 𗍫𗥃𗏵 𗥤

‹ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.én go:t ü ei.ie po.mu.fêi qudug› (Di 3)

'A family which accumulates goodness is sure to have good fortune 積善之家, 必有餘慶'. Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.087 *grandchildren:* 𗰜𗍯𗴂 𗰜𗏴𗁅 ‹bo.qo.i bo.hu.án›

'children of children'

𗰜𗍯𗴂 𗰜𗏴𗁅 𗦳

‹bo.qo.i bo.hu.án THREE›

'three grandchildren' (Xiao Zhonggong 30)

3.088 *grandson:* 𗰜𗍯𗴂 𗰜𗍯 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo›. Wang Hongli (1986) noticed this structure, but read 𗰜𗍯 as *bekj* and related it to Tu. *bək* 'official'. In Dao 7 we read 𗰜𗍯𗴂 𗰜𗍯 𗥃𗹦 𗤶𗐯𗍊𗢳 𗥤, ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa› 'son of a son [grandson] our (?) succeeding khan' The meaning of 𗥃𗹦 ‹m.in› is not known. Suggestions are 'spirit, spiritual' or 'my, our' The suffix 𗴂 ‹i› must be a genitive.

3.089 *grandfather:* 𗣼 𗱕 ‹bu ai›.

𗤓 𗥒 𗴲𗦳𗹦 𗣼 𗱕

HEAVEN GOLD$^{♂}$ hoŋ di:in bu ai›

'the grandfather of the Heaven Gold emperor (Abaoji)'

Toyoda interprets 𗣼 as a logograph, read **ebüge.* 𗱕 is pronounced ‹ai› in Chinese transcriptions such as 𗅲𗱕 ‹k.ai› for 開 *kai.* As a logograph, Toyoda reads 𗱕 as **awi*, so 𗣼 𗱕 is **ebüge awi.* There is no evidence for such transcriptions.

3.090 *great grandfather:* 𗣼 𗣼 𗱕 ‹bu bu ai›.

3.091 *grant title:* 𗤶𗤓 ‹t.em-› 'to enfeoff, to bestow [land], to bestow a title 封' Cf. Mo. *temdeg-*, Ma. *temgetu* 'sign' as in Ma. *temgetulembi* 'to confer a mark of distinction on' The reign title Tianjuan 天眷 'heaven favour' is 𗤓 𗍫𗤓𗢳𗍫 ‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er›.

𗵘𗍫 𗹭𗥃 𗥃𗦳 𗍫𗤓𗥃𗍫𗍫 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ d.em.le.ge.er› (Xu 7) (passive form with the suffix 𗥃𗍫 ‹lege›)

'He was granted the title of secretariat director 中書令'
**𘮫𘮈 𘰾 𘰺 𘰾𘰼 𘰾𘰼𘰽𘰾𘰼 𘰾𘰼𘰽𘰾𘰼𘰽𘰾𘰼𘰽

'Virtuous region, heaven earth, eternal sun [and] moon' (Xuanyi 10)

3.098 *horizontal tents* 横帳: 𗼇𗹦𗥃 𗤶𗴲 ‹xe.dú.ún go.er›. Cf. Mo. *köndelen* 'across, transverse, horizontal, side, on the side'
𗾞𗾞𗼻 𗼇𗹦𗥃 𗤶𗴲 𗍫𗏵 𗹠𗫂 𗅋 𗟲𗹠𗦳𗫂 𗹦𗪘𗾔𗤓 𗹠𗪘𗴲𗥤𗴲
‹qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er zȯ.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d c.as.a rėn:er›
𗥞𗹭 𗾞𗹠𗴲 𗼻 𗅋𗴲 𗼻𗼇 𗹭𗼻𗴲 𗹭𗼻𗼇 𗼻𗪘𗹠
us.gi hur.ú:un ui cu.n KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›
'Composed by Yelü Gu 耶律固, Hanlin academician [in charge of writing matters], court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司 of the household of the younger uncles 季父房 of the horizontal tents of the khan'

3.099 *horse:* 𗹦𗹭 ‹mo.ri› 'horse' Cf. Ju. *morin,* Mo. *mori* ~ *morin* 'horse'. It corresponds to the cyclical sign 午.

3.100 *house, household:* 𗤶𗴲 ‹go.er›. 𗤶𗴲 ‹go.er› refers to a tribal unit, here translated 'household'. It often corresponds to 帳房'tent'. 𗼇 is presumably a larger unit.

3.101 *humaneness:* 𗾞𗹠𗹭𗾔 ‹hur.ú.ur.bun›.
𗾞𗹠𗹭𗾔 𗥤𗼻𗹳 ‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji› 'humane, sacred 仁聖', a title of the Daozong emperor. 𗥤𗼻𗹳 ‹mu.u.ji› is 'holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor; 聖' 𗾞𗹠 ‹hur.ú› means 'ruler, person in control' So 𗾞𗹠𗹭𗾔 ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› may not mean the same as 'humaneness 仁'

3.102 *hundred:* 𗹳 ‹jau› 2.015 'hundred' *Liaoshi* 116: '爪, 百數也' *zhao* means a hundred'. MMo. *ǰawu/n,* Mo. *ǰayu/n,* Da. *dʒau* 'hundred' In Xu, 𗹳𗹷 ‹jau tau› transcribes the Chinese title 招討 **jautau* 'bandit suppression commissioner' In Zhong we find 𗹳 𗹷 𗤓𗴲 ‹jau.tau.ss:en›, a genitive form of 招討司 'bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner' 𗹳 𗼻 ‹jau nai› 'the hundred officials; officialdom' (𗼻 ‹nai› 'head, leader, magistrate, official'); 𗹳 𗼻𗴲 ‹jau nai:d› 'hundred officials' (plural form).

3.103 *hunt:* 𗹦𗵘𗥤 ‹m.án.ún› (PAST)
𗍫𗏵 𗍊𗾔 𗥞𗹳𗾞 𗥃 𗢳𗹬 𗏵𗼇 𗹦𗹳𗾞 𗱱𗾔𗴲 𗹦𗵘𗥤 𗾔𗹠𗴲 𗹬𗫂𗴲 𗼇𗾞 𗏵𗼻𗼇
𗼇𗥃𗍫 ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.án ja.cėn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci› 'some time ago because in his region there were no matters, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain. (Lang 1-2). 𗹦𗵘𗥤 𗾔𗹠𗴲 ‹m.án.ún se.mu.i› corresponds to 'he set out to hunt'.

3.104 *husband:* 𘮬 𘮭 ‹ai ku› (‘male person’)
𘮬 𘮭 𘮮𘮯𘮰 𘮱𘮲𘮳𘮴 𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸𘮹𘮺 𘮻𘮼 𘮽 𘮾𘮰 𘮿𘮬 𘯀
‹ai ku tai.bo:de p.ul.271.ji n.ai.ri.le.ha.a.án eu.úr FIFTY TWO.de 054.ar iu›
‘Her relations with her husband, the *taibao*, were harmonious. She died at the age of fifty two’ (Han Dilie 16). The meaning of 𘮿𘮬 ‹054.ar› is unknown.

3.105 *in charge of:* 𘯁𘯂 ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge, person in control’

3.106 *initial, first:* 𘯃𘯄 ‹yủ.úr›. The reading of 𘯃 is unknown. Mnemonic from Ch. 尤.
𘯃𘯄 𘮬 ‹yủ.úr ai› ‘the first year of a reign period 元年’

3.107 *intercalary month* 閏*:* 𘮱𘮲𘮳 ‹p.ul.uh› Ma. *fulu* ‘surplus, excess, left over, extra’

3.108 *jade:* 𘯅𘯆 ‹g.u›
𘯅𘯆 𘯇𘯈𘯉 ‹g.u tau.lí.a› 玉兔 ‘jade hare’ *Liaoshi* glossary: 孤穩 *gu-wen* ‘jade’ Ju. *guwen; guwu;* Ma. *gu.*

3.109 *jasa:* 閘撒 ‘tribal unit’ 𘯊𘯋𘯉 ‹c.as.a›

3.110 *jiayin:* 甲寅 (cyclical term): 𘯌𘯍𘯎 𘯏𘯐𘯑 ‹s.iau.qú qa.ha.as› ‘blue tiger’ 𘯒 𘯓 𘯔 𘯕𘯖𘯗 𘯘 𘯙 𘯌𘯍𘯎 𘯏𘯐𘯑 𘯬 𘯚𘯛𘯜 𘯝𘯞 𘯟 𘯠 𘯡𘯢𘯣 ‹qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rẻn TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period ’ (Langjun 4-5). Note that ‹s.iau.qú› seems to be the feminine form, and so tiger would be grammatically feminine. This aspect requires further research.

3.111 *khan:* 𘯏 ‹qa› ‘khan’
𘯏𘯐𘯤 ‹qa.ha.an› ‘khaghan’ (genitive?) Ju. *ha'an* MMo. *qa'an* Mo. *qayan.*
𘯌𘯥 𘯌𘯦 𘯧𘯨𘯩𘯪 𘯏 𘯫𘯬 𘯌𘯭 ‹t.[ai] s.uŋ g.úr:en qa ź.in s.úŋ› (Renyi 8)
‘Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State’. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word 𘯏 ‹qa› ‘khan’ as distinct from 𘯏𘯐 ‹qa.ha› ‘khaghan’ 𘯏𘯤 𘯧𘯤 ‹qa.an g.ui g.uŋ› is a transcription of 韓國公 ‘lord of the state of Han’ (Zhonggong 21).
3.112 *know:* 𘯮 ‹KNOW› 𘯮 corresponds to 知 ‘to know’ in the official title 知事 ‘to know matters’, i.e. ‘administrator’ It is often followed by 𘯌 ‹t› as in 𘯮𘯌; which is presumably a plural marker: ‘officials, administrators’.

3.113 *lady:* 𘲢𘰾𘰚 ‹pu.is.iń› < 夫人 * *fužin* 'lady'
𘲢𘰚 𘲢𘰾𘰚𘰀 𘰾𘲢
‹qa.an g.ui pu.is.iń:en i.ri›
'The title of lady of the state of Han' (Zong 20)
𘲢𘰾 𘲢𘰚 𘲢𘰾𘰚 ‹l.an l.iŋ g.ün pu.is.iń›
'lady of Lanling prefecture' (Xu 9)

3.114 *left:* 𘲢𘲢𘰀 ‹ci.g.en› ~ 𘲢𘲢𘰀 ‹dzi.g.en›. Mo. *ǰegün.*
𘲢𘲢𘰀 𘲢𘰾 ‹ci.g.en u.ur› 'left division'
𘲢𘲢𘰀 𘲢𘰾 𘲢𘰾 𘲢𘰚𘰀 𘰾𘲢 𘲢𘲢𘲢
‹dzi.g.en u.ur p.úŋ c.a.en i.ri t.em.l.ún›
'he was granted the title of *fangcha* of the left division 左院訪察' (Nu 7)

3.115 *linya* (Kitan title) 林牙: 𘲢𘰾𘰚 ‹l.êm.a› ~ 𘲢𘰾𘰚𘰀 ‹l.êm.hu.a› 'scribe'
Franke, *Bermerkungen*, p. 24, notes that Menges suggested Tu. *alymɣá* as the origin of *linya*. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 林牙, 掌文翰官, 舊稱爲學士: '*linya*, an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* [scholar]'. *Liaoshi:* Cf. *Biography of Tianzuo* 天祚紀 in the *Liaoshi:* 遼以翰林為林牙 'the Liao called the Hanlin *linya.*'
𘲢 𘲢𘰾 𘲢𘰾 𘲢 𘲢𘰾𘰚 𘲢𘰾𘰚𘰀 𘲢𘲢𘰾𘰚𘰀 𘲢𘲢
‹SOUTH u.ur ü.n:en ui KNOW.u.ji l.êm.a p.o.gȯ.l.ún› (Ren 62)
"He was appointed *linya* of the southern division 南院'

3.116 *live at, reside:* 𘲢𘰀 ‹sa-› Cf. Mo. *saɣu-* 'live, dwell, reside, stay'

3.117 *local officials:* 𘲢𘰀 𘲢𘲢 ‹em:en nai:d›
𘲢𘰀 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢𘰀 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘰾𘰚𘰀
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
'After he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy'

3.118 *long life:* 𘲢𘰀 ‹s.en›.
Often used as a name written in Chinese 義信 Yixin (and variants). This suggests the pronunciation *Isin.
𘲢 𘲢𘰀 ‹GREAT s.en› the reign period Shouchang 壽昌 (1095)
Cf. 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹ca.aŋ ś.eu.u› transcription of 長壽 'long life, longevity'

3.119 *lower capital:* 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹de.gė g.iŋ› ~ 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹te.gė g.iŋ›.
𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹de.gė g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu›
'The *liushou* (regent, viceroy) of Yanjing 燕京留守'
𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹de.gė fu.un ja.ri.qó›
'Prime minister of the southern administation 南府宰相'.

𘮩 𘮪 𘮫𘮬𘮭 ‹UPPER/NORTH:d pu ja.ri.qó›
'Prime minister of the northern administration 北府宰相'
𘮩 𘮯𘮰 𘮱 𘮲𘮳𘮴 ‹UPPER:d de.gė TWO g.úr:se›
'The two states, north and south'
𘮪𘮰 𘮵 ‹de.gė qa› 'The southern khan'

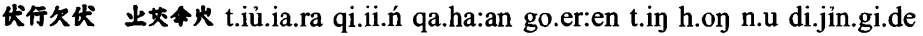
3.120 *madame, née:* 𘮶. The graph appears after women's names and appears to refer to the family name before marriage. In Chinese this is 氏 *shi*, and the Kitan graph may be derived from it. Here it is transcribed ‹śí› and translated 'Mme'

3.121 *male:* 𘮷𘮯 ‹ai:d›. As well as meaning 'father', 𘮷 means 'male' in a generic sense. It is followed by the plural suffix 𘮯 ‹d›.
𘮷𘮯 𘮸𘮹𘮺 𘮱 ‹ai:de bo.hu.án TWO› 'male children, two'
𘮻 𘮷𘮯 𘮼 𘮽 ‹THREE ai:d ia deu› 'three male (elder and younger) brothers'
𘮷𘮯 𘮸𘮹𘮺 𘮱 ‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO› 'male children, two'
𘮻 𘮷𘮯 𘮼 𘮽 ‹THREE ai:d ia deu›
'three male (elder and younger) brothers'
𘮷𘮯 𘮸𘮹𘮺 𘮾 𘮿𘯀𘯁 𘯂𘯃𘯄 𘯅 𘯆
‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.as.qó g.ui.in eu.úr TWENTY NINE
'He had two sons. The elder was Guoyin, twenty nine years old.

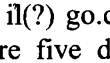
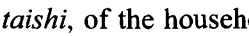
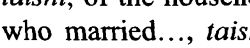
3.122 *man:* 𘮫 ‹ku› ~ 𘮫𘮬 ‹ku.u› 'man'; 𘮫𘮭𘯇‹ku.û.un› *(gen.)*

3.123 *marry (of a woman):* 𘮭𘮲𘯈- ‹û.ul.ge-›. Cf. Mo. *uruyla-* 'to become related by marriage', but may also be a derived form of 𘮭 ‹û› 'to give' (as in 'to give in marriage'); cf. Mo. *ög-* 'to give' This may be a passive form: to be married [to]. It is preceded by the dative/locative suffix 𘮰 ‹de›~ 𘮵 ‹do›.
𘮧𘮨 𘮩𘮪 𘮾 𘮿𘯀 𘮭𘮲𘯈𘮪𘮨
‹qudug.iń dir.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.l.iń› (Renxian 8)
'She was married to *Qudugin 胡睹堇 *Dirbun 迪里本, *taishi*'
𘮤𘮫𘮬 𘮱𘮲 𘮳𘮨 𘮫𘮬𘮨 𘮱𘮲𘮬 𘮩𘮪 𘮭𘮲𘯈𘮱
‹c.ur.én ta.aŋ śí.ń ei.au.u sh n.u ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei› (Di 31)
'The second, Mme. *Tang, having been married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant…'
𘮱𘮪 𘮲 𘮭 𘮭𘮴 𘮭𘮵 𘮪𘮵𘮨 𘮪𘮱𘮭𘮤 𘮳𘮫𘮨 𘮶𘮵𘮬 𘮶𘮵𘮫𘮬 𘮾 𘮿𘯀
‹mó.t FIVE eldest x.iŋ x.e pu.is.iń t.iů.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en ke qa n.u tai sh:de
𘮭𘮲𘯈𘮯 𘮤𘮫𘮬 𘮪𘮨 𘮪𘮬 𘮪𘮵𘮨 □□□ 𘮾 𘮿𘯀 𘮭𘮲𘯈𘮯𘮬 𘮪𘮬 𘮩𘮯 𘮭𘮵 𘮫𘮬
û.ul.ge c.ur.én l.i s.ie pu.is.iń … tai sh:de û.ul.ge.én THIRD.én du.uŋ x.e aú.ui

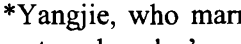
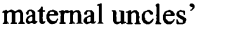
t.iu̯.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en t.iŋ h.oŋ n.u di.jin.gi.de û.ul.ge.én t.ur.én ńi.mú.qó.ń p.y.z.iú

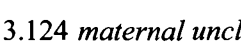
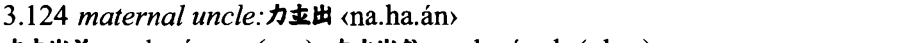
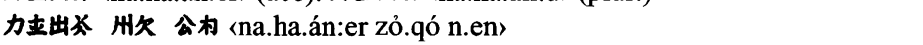
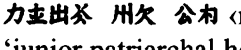

zo̯.qo TENT:en śi.le.x.iń ju.rå.e ja.ri.qo:do û.ul.ge.én t.od.p.ón ei.aŋ s.ie pu.is.iń

na.ha.án.er il(?) go.c.en qudug.iń tur.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.le.ń› (Renxian 7-8). 'There were five daughters. The eldest, lady *Xiŋxe, married *Kekanu, *taishi*, of the household of the khan of the Xi. The second was lady *Lijie, who married..., *taishi*. The third was her highness *Duŋxe, who married *Dingguangnu of the household of the khan of the Xi. The fourth was royal lady *Nimukun, who married prime minister. The fifth was lady *Yangjie, who married *Qudugin *Dirbun, *taishi,* of the household of the maternal uncles'

3.124 *maternal uncle:*  ‹na.ha.án›
‹na.ha.án.er› (acc). ‹na.ha.án:d› (plur.)
 ‹na.ha.án:er zo̯.qó n.en›
'junior patriarchal household of the lineage of imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳'
 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zo̯.qo TENT:en›
'Of the tent of the maternal uncles 國舅帳'
 ‹na.ha.án.er zo̯.qó ai:en ńi.ra.qu.ń›
'*Nirugun, of the younger lineage of the maternal uncles' (Zong 21)

3.125 *matter, affair:* ‹ui› 事. Mongol, Manchu *weile*, so perhaps **ul* or **uil*.

3.126 *mengan ~ mingan* '*military unit*'
 ‹miŋ.án› 'military unit: Chinese 猛安 *meng'an*'
 ‹miŋ.an nai:d› 'leaders of a *meng'an*'

3.127 *meritorious official:*  ‹g.uŋ c.in› < 功臣 **gungchien*

‹g.uŋ c.in FOUR us.gi:d› ~ ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR› ~ ‹FOUR us.gi.d g.úŋ c.in›
'four character meritorious official 四字功臣': an honorary title with four characters.
 ‹g.uŋ c.in:en us.gi:d SIX› 'six character meritorious official 六字功臣'


‹g.uŋ c.in EIGHT us.gi:d› ‘eight character meritorious official 八字功臣’
𘮭 𘮞𘮜𘮟 𘮠 ‹ONE us.gi:en oŋ› ‘a prince with one character in his title 一字王’

3.128 *middle:* **𘮞𘮘𘮜 𘮜𘮟** ‹dau.úr.ún› Cf. Mo. *dumda* ‘middle’; perhaps **𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮞𘮘** ‹t.iau.dû›. Cf. 4.58.

3.129 *mid-winter:* **𘮞𘮘𘮜 𘮜𘮟 𘮜𘮟𘮘 𘮜𘮟** ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul›
‘Mid-winter; the second month of winter 仲冬. (Langjun)
𘮙 𘮡 𘮚 𘮛𘮘𘮞 𘮙 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮞𘮘𘮜 𘮜𘮟 𘮜𘮟𘮘 𘮜𘮟 𘮙 𘮜 𘮠 𘮜𘮟𘮘 𘮜𘮟 𘮙 𘮜 𘮠
‹qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rẻn TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period’ (Langjun)

3.130 *miri* ‘small settlement’ 彌里 *mili*, 抹里 *moli* ~ **meili*: **𘮚𘮞 𘮞𘮘** ‹mo.rí›.
𘮞𘮟𘮙 𘮛𘮚 𘮚𘮘 𘮙𘮜𘮛 𘮚𘮘 𘮜𘮟 𘮡𘮞𘮛𘮙 𘮛𘮚 𘮚𘮘 𘮚𘮘 𘮙 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮞 𘮞
‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun ta.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di
𘮚𘮞 𘮞𘮘𘮜 𘮛𘮚 𘮞𘮘 𘮞𘮘 𘮙 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮛𘮚𘮞 𘮛𘮚𘮞
mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i SOUTH WEST se.mu.én ordu.u.dú s.a.kả l.iu.rẻn.er›
‘The Chongxi 重熙 emperor, the sacred great filial eternal Xingzong 興宗, while residing in the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* 捺鉢 of the *miri* 彌里, passed away’ (Xingzong 2). This could mean ‘the horse *nabo*; cf. ‘the crow *nabo*’ in the *Eulogy for Xuanyi*.

3.131 *monkey:* **𘮙 𘮜** ‹p.o›~ **𘮙 𘮜𘮜** ‹p.o.o› (Liu 1997). The cyclical sign 申 *shen*. Mo. *bečin,* Ma. *bonio, monio*.

3.132 *month:* **𘮛**. Reading unknown, suggestions include **sair, *sær *sarj *sar* and the like, based on *Qidanguo zhi* 賽離 *sai-li* , *Yanbei zaji* 賽離 *sai-li, Liaoshi* 賽咿唲 *sai-yi-er*. Cf. MMo *sara* , WM *sara-n*. Cf Wu Gui 武珪, *Yanbei zaji* 燕北雜記 [Miscellaneous notes on Yanbei]: 七月十三日至十五日 迎節，送節，哭節，遼人呼為賽離捨 ‘On the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*. 賽離 *saili* means ‘moon, month’; 捨 *she* means ‘good’ *Liaoshi*: 五月重五日 國語謂是日‘討賽咿兒’ 討五, 賽咿兒, 月也 ‘The fifth month, the *chongwu* festival in their language they call this day 討賽咿兒 *tao saiyier*. 討 *tao* means ‘five’, *saiyier* means ‘month’ **𘮛** should be distinguished from a slighly different graph, **𘮜** , ‘tent, tribal lineage’ In many transcriptions **𘮛** is used for both **𘮛**and **𘮜** . The two were not distinguished in *Research*.

3.133 *mother:* 𗹦 ‹mó›. Plural 𗹦𗗙 ‹mó:t›. This was identified by Wang Jingru 1933 from the Xuanyi epitaph: 𗗙𗥃𗡶 𗥃𗥃 𗢳𗍫 𗹦𘜶 𗅋𗏵𗍊 𗍫𗍊 𗦳𗥤 ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ún c.ah w.ún›. 𗢳𗍫 𗹦 means 'empress', cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 耨斡麽 *neu-e mo* 'earth mother (empress)' so 𗹦 should correspond to 麽.

𗹦 𗅋𗏵 𗥃𗤁 ‹mó g.uŋ tz.iú› 'mother princess 母公主'

𗍫𗅋𗍊 𗹦 𗏴𗊴‹c.úr.er mó bo.qo› 'son of a second mother 次母子'

𗣼 𗹦 ‹ai mó› 'father and mother'

3.134 *mountain:* 𗥤 2.006. 𗥤 looks very similar to 𗥃 2.063, 'eternal' It seems to mean 'mountain', or perhaps 'tomb in a mountain'

3.135 *move, to be transferred:* 𗹦𗦳𗖵 ‹ei.eu.ji› 徙 *xi* 'to move, to transfer, to be transferred'; causative: 𗹦𗦳𗅋𗍊𗹦 ‹ei.eu.úr.ge.ei›

3.136 *nabo* 捺鉢 *'travelling palace* 行宮' 𗤁𗦳𗥞 ‹n.ad.bú›.

𗠇𗥦 𗤁𗦳𗥞 ‹heu.úr n.ad.bú› 'spring *nabo*'

𗍫𗥃 𗠇𗥦 𗤁𗦳𗥞 ‹ordu.u heu.úr n.ad.bú› 'travelling palace (*ordo*), spring *nabo*'

𗤁𗦳𗣫𗦳 ‹n.ad.bu.ad› (plural?)

𗗙𗥃𗡶 𗥃𗥃 𗢳𗍫 𗹦 𗦳𗣼𗥃 𗖵𗅆𗍫 𗤁𗦳𗣫𗥃 𗏵𗹦𗏴𗊴 ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.i l.iu.rẻn.én›

'The empress Xuanyi 宣懿, the earth mother, died in the crow (𗖵𗅆 ‹hu.ho›) *nabo* '. (Xuanyi 5)

3.137 *name:* 𗥃𗅋 ‹i.ri›; plural 𗥃𗅋𗗙 ‹i.ri.se›. This term is also used for 'official title'

3.138 *niangzi* 娘子*:* 'term of respect for a woman of high status':

𗤁𗥃 ‹aú.ui›

𗤁𗥃 𗦳𗂧𗦳𗏵 𗍊 𗦳𗥃𗍫 𗏴𗊴𗥃 𗏴𗊴 𗒘 𗗙𗹦𗏴 𗊴 𗏁 𗍫 𗍊 𗥤 𗥃𗡶 𗼻𗏴 ‹aú.ui ś.ie.ên.iń tai ś.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rẻn SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én›

'Her highness was the grandchild of *Shanning *taishi*. She was born on the 18th day of the 5th month of the seventh year of the Dakang 大康 reign period' (Gu 6-7). Note the feminine ending 𗏴 ‹én›.

3.139 *night:* 𗗙𗤶 ‹s.uni› Cf. MMo. **süni,* in Mo. *söni.*

𗗙𗤶𗅋 𗥞𗥤 ‹s.uni:en po:do› 'during the night'

𗗙𗤶 𗥃【𗥃】 ‹s.uni DAY:i› 'night and day'

𗤋 𗗙𗤶 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'

𘮩 𘮬𘮭 𘮪𘮫 𘮧𘮨𘮯 ‹TWO DAY.en s.uni tu.úr.bun›
'he died during the night of the second [next] day'

3.140 *nine:* 𘮬 ‹is›. Cf. Mo. *yisü ~ yisün* 'nine' 𘮬𘮧 ‹is.er› 'ninth'
𘮭𘮮 𘮰𘮭𘮱𘮭 𘮬 𘮲𘮳 𘮭𘮲𘮴 𘮲𘮵 𘮪 𘮪𘮭 𘮲𘮵 𘮪𘮫𘮯𘮧𘮬
‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau.de o.dz.ii, ś.o pu fu.u ś.o t.em.le.ge.ei› (Gu 10-11)
'On the occasion of the present emperor's accession to the throne, having been given the title of *shuaifu fushuai* 率府副率… ' The term 𘮬 𘮲𘮳 *'nine five'* is from Ch. 九五 refers to the emperor's accession to the throne. There is some doubt in the literature about the Kitan word for 'nine' but note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name 𘮬𘮱𘮵 ‹is.g.i› 乙室已'; **yishïgi* K. **išigi,* which strongly suggests **is* (or **iš*) for 𘮬.

3.141 *north:* 𘮪 ‹ABOVE, NORTH›. The reading of 𘮪 is unknown. Several investigators have suggested readings based on Mongol, such as *umar-a, xoina, xoi*, or *aru* 'back, rear', but there is no evidence for such readings.
𘮪 𘮭𘮲 ‹NORTH u.úr› 'northern administration 北院'
𘮪 𘮫 𘮭𘮲 'northern [and] southern administrations 北南院'
𘮪 𘮭𘮲 𘮯𘮰 𘮭 ‹NORTH u.úr ci.ŋ dzi› 'the recipient of edicts 承旨 of the northern administration'
𘮪 𘮱 𘮴𘮶 𘮩 𘮵𘮭 ‹UPPER.d te.gė TWO g.úr› 'upper and lower (or: north and south): the two states (Liao and Song)'
𘮪 𘮯 𘮷 𘮲𘮳 ‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss›
'bandit suppression commission of the north west' 招討司'. Note 𘮪 𘮯 is the reverse order of Ch. 西北 'west north'
𘮪 𘮯 𘮸𘮹𘮲𘮬 ‹NORTH WEST n.ô.úr.i› 'north west route 路'
𘮪 𘮭𘮲 𘮺 𘮻𘮱 𘮼𘮽 𘮾𘮿 𘮬𘮲 𘮴𘮶𘮫𘮧𘮭
‹NORTH u.ur tzi ü.n p.o.or s.úŋ oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'He was made director 知院 of the northern division [administration] and granted the title of prince of Song'

3.142 *now, present:* 𘮭𘮱 ‹ún.n›, also 𘮭𘮷 ‹ún.e›
𘮭𘮱 𘮰𘮭𘮸 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji› 'the present sacred person [emperor] 今聖'
3.143 *official:* 𘮼𘮭 𘮁 ‹p.u ku› 'official 臣' Cf. Ju. 伂 *buwe* 'official 臣' (Ki. 276). 𘮼 ‹pú› might be an allograph, or a variant.

3.144 *official:* 𘮫 ‹nai› (332) 'head'; plural 𘮫𘮱 ‹nai:d›; genitive 𘮫𘮧 ‹nai:en›
𘮫𘮬 𘮾𘮿𘮧 𘮫𘮱𘮷 ‹l.i ceu:en nai:d:er›
'The officials 官 of Lizhou 醴州' (Langjun 3)

3.145 *older brother:* 𐲀 ‹ia›
𐲀 𐲃 ‹ia deu› 'brothers'
𐲀 𐲃𐲍 ‹ia deu:un› 'of the brothers'
𐲀 𐲎 ‹ia ai› 'father's elder brother'; cf. 𐲃 𐲎‹deu ai› 'father's younger brother'
Toyoda read 𐲀 as a phonetic graph [ia]. However, he also suggests that it is also a logograph, read **aqa*. This view has been accepted by some scholars, on the basis of Mo. *axa* and similar forms, but there is little evidence for it.

3.146 *one:* 𐲅 (026) ‹ONE› Reading unknown. 𐲅 is the dotted form. Chinggeltei suggests the reading **mas* from the ordinal form 𐲌𐲋𐲆 ‹m.as.qu› (and variants) 'first' This word however is likely to mean 'eldest [in a family]' rather than an ordinal, and perhaps related to 𐲌𐲁 ‹m.o› 'large, great, 大 *da*. In the emended sections of the Dazong inscription, 𐲇𐲉𐲆𐲈 ‹mu.em.se.gi› was rewritten as 𐲅𐲆𐲈 ‹ONE.se.gi›, suggesting that 𐲅 was pronounced the same as 𐲇𐲉 ‹mu.em› or perhaps **mem*.

3.147 *order of years:* 𐲆𐲊𐲏 ‹se.le.bo› 'order of years in the hexagenary cycle 歲次' 𐲆𐲊𐲏 ‹se.le.bo› means 'to follow'

3.148 *ordo* 'administrative unit': 𐲋 ‹ordu›.
Liu Fengzhu 1984 noticed that in the Yelü Dilie inscription, the word for the Da'an 大安 reign period, generally written 𐲆𐲉𐲐𐲁𐲍 ‹ú.dû.u.o.ón›, was written 𐲋𐲐𐲁𐲍 ‹ordu.ó.o.ón›, and that the Chongxi 重熙 period, generally written 𐲆𐲉𐲊𐲇𐲁𐲋 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, was written 𐲋𐲊𐲇𐲋 ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. So he concluded 𐲋 = 𐲆𐲉 ‹ú.dû›.

3.149 *ox:* 𐲄 2.059. Possibly ‹uni›. It corresponds to the second of the twelve branches, 丑 *chou*. It is part of the Kitan word for 'night' 𐲆𐲄 ‹s.uni› *q.v.* Cf. Mo. *üniye* 'cow', which might be the basic meaning of 𐲄, rather than 'ox' Cf. 𐲄𐲆𐲍 𐲍𐲈 𐲂 ‹uni.gú.un ca.aŋ sh› 'ox herd *changshi*'.In the *Liaoshi* biography of Xiao Dilie there is a reference to his first position as an 'ox herd official 牛群敞史' 敞史 *changshi* is a 'minor official in northern and southern administrations'

3.150 *past, in the past:*𐲋𐲋‹c.ar› cf. Ma. *cala* 'previously, before'
𐲋𐲋 𐲉𐲆 𐲎𐲌𐲁𐲏 𐲍𐲁 𐲓𐲈𐲏 𐲊𐲃 𐲌𐲁𐲏 𐲍𐲌𐲁𐲏 𐲆𐲍𐲁𐲏 𐲊𐲃 𐲅𐲍𐲁𐲋 𐲆𐲁𐲏 𐲉𐲁𐲏 𐲊𐲃 𐲍𐲍𐲁𐲏 𐲍𐲍𐲁𐲋 ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a.án ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.án ja.cėn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i›
'Some time ago, because there were no matters [requiring his attention] in his region, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain'.

3.151 *peace, peaceful:* 𘍞𘍼 ‹as.ar›
𘍞 𘍞𘍼 ‹HEAVEN as.ar› Qingning 清寧 reign title 'Clear Tranquility'
𘍿𘍽 𘍞𘍼 ‹neu.e as.ar› 地清 *di qing* 'The earth is clear' (Xuanyi).

3.152 *people:* 𘍿 ‹hor›~ 𘍿𘍾 ‹hor.u›, also 𘍿𘍺 ‹hor.a›; gen. form 𘍿𘍾𘍻 ‹hor.u.un› (?)

3.153 *pig:* 𘍻 ‹ui› **uil* (?) 'pig' Cf. Ju. 父 **uliyan* Ki. 162 **u[l]gia* 兀甲 Ka. 414. The graph for the cyclical period 亥, corresponding to 'pig' 𘍻 also means 'matter, affair; to serve 事' Cf. Jurchen Ki. 398 *weile-be* 'affair (accusative). Mo. *weile;* the Ma. *weile* 'matter, affair, deed'; *weilembi* 'to work, to make, to serve' 𘍻 was possibly **uil*~ **uile* or similar.

3.154 *place, local:* 𘍹 ‹em›
𘍹𘍺 𘍾𘍷 𘍲𘍸 𘍴𘍶 𘍷𘍼 𘍻𘍵𘍽𘍻 𘍼𘍳𘍾
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
'After he drank wine with the officials of that place (local officials) he returned happy'.(Langjun). (𘍹= place)

3.155 *preface* 序: 𘍼𘍳𘍴𘍿 ‹ho.le.bo.ń›. The word means 'first, beginning'
𘍼𘍳𘍴𘍿 𘍽𘍷𘍼 ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho›: 'together with preface 並序' (a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions).

3.156 *present emperor* 今上: 𘍵𘍹 𘍿𘍾𘍲𘍺 𘍽𘍸 𘍾 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau›
'When the present emperor ascended the throne'. (Gu 10)
The expression 𘍵𘍹 𘍿𘍾𘍲𘍺 𘍽𘍸 𘍾 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau› is preceded by four empty spaces.
𘍿𘍾𘍲𘍸 𘍻 𘍞𘍼 𘍶 𘍷 ‹mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ di› (Renyi 5)
'The present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor'
Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the *Eulogy for Renyi* was composed.
𘍵𘍹 𘍿𘍾𘍲𘍺 𘍺𘍽 𘍸𘍽𘍿𘍼 𘍸𘍶 𘍸𘍴 𘍱𘍷 𘍸𘍻 𘍱𘍻𘍺 𘍻𘍳𘍸 𘍻𘍱𘍸 𘍽𘍼
‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en m.in se.bu.s.ii t.ai s.iaŋ g.ün t.û ś.i:en i.ri.se rí:ii›
'The present emperor having awarded him the titles of senior general and director of the office…' (Yong 16)
3.157 *prime minister:* 𘍲𘍱𘍻 ‹ja.ri.qó› Ch.宰相. Cf. Mo. *jerge* 'rank, title' (Wang Hongli 1986).

3.158 *prince:* 𘍷 ‹oŋ›. 𘍷 is read ‹oŋ› rather than **uang*, as it is followed by the genitive suffix 𘍸 ‹on›, indicating a vowel [o] in the stem. It corresponds

to 王 'king' but when referring to a Liao title it is conventionally translated 'prince'

3.159 *princess:* 𘍞𘅈 𘊴𘍞 ‹g.uŋ c.iú› ~ 𘍞𘅈 𘍞𘍞 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› 公主.
𘍞𘍞 𘐯 𘍞𘅈 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘅈 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘅈 𘍞𘍞
‹m.in tai oŋ:on ńi.e ai:en ń.iau tu.uŋ xe.e g.uŋ tz.iú› (Zong 35)
'Princess *Tuŋxe, younger sister of the father of our (?) grand prince'

3.160 *promote:* 𘍞𘍞- ‹p.o-›. Probably the basic meaning is 'to become'

3.161 *qatun* (wife of a khan): 𘍞.
𘍞𘍞𘐯 ‹dả qatun.d› 'several queens' (Xuanyi 12).
𘍞𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞 ‹qa.ha:an bo.hu.án qatun:en úr.u.ur›
'The son of the *khan*, the daughter-in-law of the *qatun*'. (Ren 5)
𘍞𘅈 𘍞𘍞𘍞 𘍞 𘐯 𘍞 𘍞𘍞𘅈 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘅈 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞 𘍞𘍞

𘮩𘮬𘮫 𘮭𘮯𘮬𘮰 𘮱𘮲 𘮳𘮴𘮵𘮶 𘮷 𘮸𘮹 𘮺𘮻
‹RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.le.hu.án ie.ún il.ge.e.ci, ss g.ia n.u› (Nu 40)
'engraved and composed by Si Jianu'

3.166 *red:* **𘮭𘮼𘮽 ~ 𘮭𘮼𘮾** ‹l.iau.qú~l.iau.qu›. Corresponds to 丙 *bing* in the ten stems; 丁 has not been found. MMo. *hulaqan*, Mo. *ulaɣan* 'red' 丙, *ulaqčin* 'reddish' 丁 The variants **𘮿𘮼𘮾** ‹s.iau.qu› and **𘮿𘮼𘮽** ‹s.iau.qú› 'blue' and **𘮭𘮼𘮾** ‹l.iau.qu› and **𘮭𘮼𘮽** ‹l.iau.qú› 'red' might be connected with grammatical gender. Cf. MMo. *hulaqan,* Mo. *ulaɣan* 'red' *ulaɣaɣčin* 'red (of a female animal). In the *Yanbeilu* 燕北錄 by Wang Yi 王易, we read 赤娘子者，番語多呼之掠胡奧 'the red woman, in the barbarian language is generally called *lüe-hu-ao*' Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:275. 奧 *ao* is presumably **𘮁** ‹au› 'elder sister' or **𘮂** ‹aú›. 娘子 *niangzi*: 'a term of respect for a lady of high status.' 掠胡 is MC **liak-hu*; Liao Chinese **liau-hu*. Either could correspond to **𘮭𘮼𘮾 ~ 𘮭𘮼𘮽** ‹l.iau.qu› ~ ‹l.iau.qú›, but the Liao form is more likely because of the diphthong in 掠 **liau*.

3.167 *region, area:* **𘮀** ‹REGION› (perhaps 'border, border region')
𘮁𘮂 𘮃𘮄 𘮀𘮅𘮆 𘮇 𘮈𘮉 𘮊𘮋 𘮌𘮍𘮎 𘮏𘮐𘮑 𘮒𘮓𘮔 𘮕𘮖𘮗 𘮘𘮙 𘮚𘮛𘮜 𘮝𘮞𘮟 𘮠𘮡𘮢 𘮣𘮤𘮥 𘮦𘮧𘮨 𘮩𘮪𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮯 𘮰𘮱𘮲 𘮳𘮴𘮵 𘮶𘮷𘮸 𘮹𘮺𘮻
‹c.ar am.se REGION.a:an ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.an ja.cėn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui:ci›
'For quite some time there had been no matters [requiring his attention] in his region, he set off to hunt in the area of Liang mountain, and came to the Qianlong tombs of the Tang dynasty'

3.168 *region, area, side:* **𘮿𘮼** ‹xe.se›
𘮽 𘮾𘮁 𘮂 𘮃 𘮄 𘮅 𘮆 𘮇 𘮈𘮉 𘮊 𘮋𘮌 𘮍 𘮎𘮏 𘮐𘮑 𘮒𘮓𘮔 𘮕𘮖𘮗 𘮘𘮙 𘮚𘮛𘮜 𘮝𘮞𘮟 𘮠𘮡𘮢 𘮣𘮤𘮥 𘮦𘮧𘮨 𘮩𘮪𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮯 𘮰𘮱𘮲 𘮳𘮴𘮵 𘮶𘮷𘮸 𘮹𘮺𘮻
‹GREAT s.en FOUR YEAR TEN MONTH FOUR DAY:de ún.én te.ge.er u MOUNTAIN:en xe.se:de s.a.ai, s.em.ii.er te.ge.er eu.úr FIFTY NINE b.iáu:er›
'On the fourth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of the Shouchang period, the present deceased (?) while residing in the area of eternal (?) mountain, fell sick and died at the age of fifty nine' The name of the mountain, **𘮀** ‹u›, appears on a coin in which it corresponds to 'eternal' It also appears in **𘮭 𘮀 𘮩𘮪** ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gǒ› in Daozong 6, which corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* 'Throne of Eternal Happiness' in the Chinese epitaph. Cf. 3.215

𘮿𘮼𘮁 𘮂𘮃 𘮄𘮅 𘮆𘮇𘮈 𘮉 𘮊 𘮋𘮌𘮍 𘮎𘮏𘮐 𘮑𘮒𘮓 𘮔𘮕𘮖 𘮗𘮘𘮙 𘮚𘮛𘮜 𘮝𘮞𘮟 𘮠𘮡𘮢 𘮣𘮤𘮥 𘮦𘮧𘮨 𘮩𘮪𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮯 𘮰𘮱𘮲 𘮳𘮴𘮵 𘮶𘮷𘮸 𘮹𘮺𘮻
‹xe.se:en ku.û.úd ś.iá.ah śi.mǐ.le.ge.er, ia deu n.ai.ci x.i.ud.cėn.e.ci›

'He treated the people in his jurisdiction well; his relations with his brothers were harmonious and happy' (Di 14)

3.169 *relatives, blood relations:* 𐰴𐰺𐰼 ‹c.i.is›
𐰴𐰺𐰼 𐰇𐰃 𐰃𐰴𐰴 𐰴𐰺𐰼 𐰃𐰴𐰴 𐰴𐰺𐰼 𐰃𐰴𐰴 𐰴𐰺𐰼 𐰃𐰴𐰴 𐰴𐰺𐰼
‹c.i.is KNOW.t n.ai.c.én au.ui.én úr.u bo.qo.iú as.ar n.ai.ún.ha.as›
'The relations between the family members and the administrators were harmonious, elder ladies, younger ladies by marriage and the children lived in peace and happiness'. (Bo 33)

3.170 *resident at:* 𐰃𐰇- ‹s.a-›. Cf. Mo. *sayu-* 'to sit, be seated, to live, dwell, reside, stay; to be (copula), to become'

3.171 *return:* 𐰃𐰆- ‹p.od-›. Suffixed forms are 𐰃𐰆𐰺 ‹p.od.i›, 𐰃𐰆𐰼𐰍 ‹p.od.l.ún› 'return' (PAST).

3.172 *right* (direction word): 𐰋𐰚𐰃𐰍 bo.ra.ia.an ~ 𐰋𐰚𐰇𐰍 bo.ra.a.an. Cf. Mo. *barayun* 'west, right'
𐰋𐰚𐰃𐰍 𐰴𐰾 𐰉𐰇𐰍 𐰃𐰇 𐰃𐰴
‹bo.ra.ia.an u.ru ś.a.rí.d s.êŋ.un›
'*xiangwen* of the court attendant of the right division 右院郎君詳穩.'

3.173 *ritual, rite, ceremony*: 𐰃 ‹doro›. 𐰃 218 seems to have two meanings, 'seal 印' and 'ceremony, ritual 禮' 𐰃 may have been pronounced [doro].

3.174 *sacred, holy, refers to emperor:* 𐰃𐰴𐰍 ~ 𐰃𐰴𐰍 ‹mu.ú.ji›. 聖 'sacred'
𐰃𐰴𐰍 𐰀 ‹mu.u.ji heu› 'sacred empress 聖后'
𐰃𐰴𐰍 𐰆 ‹mu.u.ji qa› 'sacred khan 聖汗'

3.175 *sad:* 𐰾𐰇𐰍 ‹g.en.ún›. Cf. Mo. *yuniy-* 'sadness, grief, anguish, sorrow, affliction, despondency, low spirits'; *yuniyla-* 'to grieve, be afflicted, sad, depressed, worried' *yuniytai-* 'sad, sorrowful'
𐰾𐰇𐰍 𐰾𐰇𐰍𐰀 ‹g.en.ún g.en.ún.e› 'sad, sad'
𐰾𐰇𐰍 𐰉𐰃 ‹g.en.ún TEXT.ú› 'eulogy 哀銘'

𐰍 𐰾𐰇𐰍 𐰼𐰞𐰴 𐰴𐰇𐰃𐰍 ‹GREAT g.en.ún l.iâŋ.u k.ii.û.ji›
'This is called … great sadness 嗚呼哀哉'

3.176 *seal, imperial seal:* 𐰃 ‹SEAL›; perhaps [doro]. Ju. 兎 朮 *doro-n* 'imperial seal' (Ki.255) 璽; Ma. *doro* 'rite, ritual', *doron* 'a seal, a stamp'

In the large Kitan script, 𘬀 corresponds to both 印'seal' and 禮 'ceremony' 𘬀 also means 'ritual, ceremony 禮'
𘬀 𘬁𘬂 𘬃 ‹SEAL p.ai.ss› 'office of seals and tallies 印牌司' (Di 2)
𘬀 𘬁𘬂𘬃𘬄 𘬅𘬆𘬇𘬈 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d›
'court attendants of the office of seals and tallies'

3.177 *second (in a series):* 𘬉𘬊𘬋 ‹c.úr.er›~ 𘬌𘬊𘬋 ‹dz.úr.er› (masc.) 𘬉𘬊𘬍 ‹c.úr.én› (fem.). The stem ‹c.úr› 'two' may be [tʃur]. 𘬉𘬊𘬍 𘬂 ‹c.ur.én ai› 'second uncle'

3.178 *section:* 𘬏𘬐𘬑 ‹xe.se.ge› = 𘬏𘬐 ‹xe.se› 'region, area' Cf. Mo. *keseg* 'part, piece, portion, fragment, group, section, division, department'. *Liaoshi* glossary: 奚首 *xishou* 'the name of a cantonment or tent' (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:297, n. 209). Perhaps 𘬏𘬐 ‹xe.se› = 奚首 *xishou.*

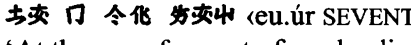
3.179 *servant:* 𘬒𘬓 𘬔 ‹pú.u ku› (𘬒 297). 𘬒𘬓 ‹pú.u› may be derived from 僕 'servant'

3.180 *serve, to serve:* 𘬕𘬖 ‹o.ju›, found with suffixes: 𘬕𘬖𘬗 ‹o.ju.ińˀ›; 𘬕𘬖𘬘 ‹o.ju.únˀ› 'to serve in an official position' (PAST).

3.181 *seven:* 𘬙 ‹SEVEN› 141. The reading of 𘬙 is unknown, perhaps **daro* ~ *dalo.* The word 'seven' is spelled 𘬚𘬙 possibly ‹da.lo›; 'seventh' is 𘬚𘬙𘬉 ‹da.lo.er›. 𘬚 is an allograph of 𘬛 ‹da›, so 'seven' might begin with [da] rather than [do]. Cf. Ju. *darhon* 'seventeen' (Ki. 652); Mo. *doloqan* 'seven'
𘬚𘬙 𘬜𘬝𘬃 𘬓𘬆 𘬂 ‹da.lo n.on:en u.ur ai›
'Seven generations of ancestors'. (Yongning 3)
𘬞𘬟 𘬠𘬡 𘬙 𘬢𘬓𘬣𘬃 𘬤𘬥 𘬦 𘬧𘬟𘬨 𘬩𘬪𘬫
‹k.em sȯ.or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji:en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu
𘬬 𘬓𘬆 𘬭𘬮𘬯 𘬰𘬱 𘬲𘬳𘬃 𘬴 𘬵𘬷 𘬜𘬓 𘬩𘬪𘬸
SIX u.ur yi.il.ińˀ û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar›
'The imperial edict was received. This was composed on the records given in the *Daily Agenda of the Seven Sacred Persons.* Composed by Si Jianu of the *Yilin (*yilimian* 'princess consort'?) *yuyue* household of the six divisions' (Nu 1)

𘬚𘬙𘬉 𘬧𘬸𘬃𘬯 𘬭𘬤𘬦𘬵𘬷 𘬧𘬹 𘬵𘬷
‹da.lo.er s.a.am.ińˀ d.i.ŋ g.e s.iáŋ g.uŋ› (Han 7)
'The seventh was Lord *Samyin 三隱 *Dingge 定哥'

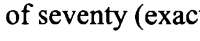
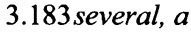
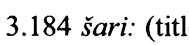
3.182 *seventy:* 𘬺. ‹SEVENTY› Reading unknown.

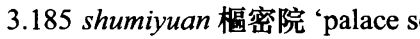
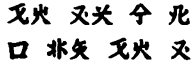

‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun›
'At the age of seventy four, he died' (Di 9)

‹ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE♂ mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa.iảŋ:de iu›
'Holbun died on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy (exactly?)'

3.183 *several, a few:* 115. Reading unknown. Mnemonic: ‹dả› from Ch.达.

3.184 *šari:* (title): ‹ś.a.rí›. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙里, 郎君也 '*šari* means *langjun* [court attendant]. should be [rí] rather than [li] as it does not appear in Chinese words.

3.185 *shumiyuan* 樞密院 'palace secretariat':  ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n›
 ‹ś.iú m.i fu sh› 'deputy chancellor 樞密副使'

‹qi po:de ś.iú m.rẻn a.ai›
'At that time, being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密 '

‹se.ń ś.iú mo.rẻn a.ai›
'Yixin being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密…'
If is another way of writing , should be read something like **i*. If this is an early loan from late Tang Chinese, could be **it* or **ir*.

3.186 *siblings, brother(s) and sister(s), brothers and sisters:* ‹ń.iau›, plural ‹ń.iau.ń.er› ~ ‹ń.iau.ń.ún›.

‹ń.iau.ń.ún FOUR t.aŋ.a pu.is.iń bo.ra.ún ś.úŋ.ho pu m.a:an bo.qo qudug tai.sh:de u.ul.ge:ei; eu.úr SIXTY NINE:de te.ge:én›
'There were four younger children. Madame *Tang'a was married to Qudug, grand preceptor, the son of the imperial son-in-law 駙馬 *Barin *Šuŋhe' She died at the age of sixty nine'

‹FOUR ń.iau.ń.er THREE♂ k.iú 1 m.ó.qú› (Gu 17)
'There were four children, three boys and a elder sister (?)

3.187 *sick, ill, contract disease:* ‹s.em›.
‹s.em.ii› 'being ill'; ‹s.em.ii.er› 'became ill'

3.188 *side:* 𘰾𘰇𘰴 ‹ja.cėn.i› 陽 *yang* 'south of a hill' Cf. Mo. *ǰaqa* 'border, frontier, side, outskirts' ‹ja.cėn.i›. Ming Ju. *ječi,* Ma. *jecen.* NB: 𘰇 ‹cen› is a mnemonic from Ch. 尘 *chen;* there is no evidence that it represents [čen]. In some transcriptions of Langjun, 𘰾𘰇𘰴 ‹ja.cėn.i› is written 𘰾𘰋𘰴 ‹ja.úŋ.i›.

3.189 *silver:* 𘰀𘰽 ‹m.em›. Cf. Mo. *mönggü,* Ma. *menggun*

3.190 *sister, elder:* 𘰉 ‹au›.

3.191 *six:* 𘰁 ‹SIX›. Reading unknown. 𘰂 (masc.) Cf. Ju. **nilhun* 'sixteen' (Ki. 651) Ma. *niolhon* 'the sixteenth day of the first month', Mo. *ǰirɣuɣa/n* 'six' 𘰁 might be read [nil] or [jir], but there is no independent evidence for this.

𘰁𘰊 ‹SIX:er› 'sixth; ordinal form of six'

𘰁 𘰋𘰆 ‹SIX u.úr› 'the six divisions 六院'

𘰁 𘰋𘰆 𘰈𘰓 ‹SIX u.úr tai oŋ› 'grand prince of the six divisions' 六院大王'

𘰄𘰉 𘰉𘰆 𘰀𘰁𘰴 𘰁 𘰋𘰆 𘰇 𘰾𘰓𘰴 𘰈𘰓𘰴

‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i SIX u.úr SOUTHERN [TRIBE] (小) hu.ar.i yi.il.iń›

𘰃𘰀 𘰍𘰊𘰓 𘰄𘰓𘰋𘰴 𘰀𘰁𘰴 𘰈𘰓 𘰓𘰴𘰍 𘰁𘰓 𘰀𘰁𘰴𘰓 𘰾𘰓𘰴

‹eu.n go.er:en ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án tai oŋ:on t.ad.o.ón bo.qo›

'Her highness' name was *Tadi. She was the fifth child of grand prince Yelü Sarhan of the household of the *yuyue* *Huari, *yilimian* (princess consort?) of the six divisions'

3.192 *six divisions:* 𘰄𘰉 𘰉𘰆 𘰀𘰁𘰴 ‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i› 'Her highness, name *Tadi' in the above quote (Gu 3) is followed by 𘰁 𘰋𘰆 𘰇. 𘰁 is 'six' The *Liaoshi* biographies often start by saying so and so is a member of such and such a 部 'group'. Among these the most common is 六院部人'a member of the six groups' Liu Fengzhu concluded that 𘰁 𘰋𘰆 𘰇 must mean 'a tribesman of the six divisions' The six divisions were also known as the southern administration. 𘰇 means 'south', but also applies to a tribal group, perhaps 'the southern tribes' 𘰋𘰆 ‹u.ur› means 院 'division, administration' Cf. Hucker 3826: "The *liu yuan* 'six groups': one of the categories into which the founding emperor A-pao-chi, divided his tribal followers; its civil affairs were administered by the Office of the Southern Grand Prince (*nan ta-wang yüan* 南大王院, its military affairs by the Office of the Northern Grand Prince *pei ta-wang yüan* 北大王院, both agencies of the Northern Administration (*pei-mien* 北面 through which the dynastic government managed the affairs of the Khitan tribes and allied northern nomads."

3.193 *sixty:* 乂 ‹SIXTY›. Reading unknown. 父 267 is a mistake for 乂 266.
土夾 乂 圣矢 屮丙刃当 ‹eu.úr SIXTY TWO:de l.iu.rẻn.én›
'She died at the age of sixty two' (Renyi 12)
乂 毛 仕友矛 为生伏 ‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.iń›
'The sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦' (Toyoda 1992)

3.194 *small:* 州欠 ‹zỏ.qo› Reading of 州 unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests **od.* Chinggeltei suggests **ba*, cf. Mo. *baɣa* 'small' 州 ‹zỏ› is a mnemonic from Ch. 州.
八夾礼 力业出爻 州欠 艾 礼 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zỏ.qó TENT:en›
'The younger branch lineage of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳'
The imperial uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang*. 小 *xiao* corresponds to 州欠.
伯券永 将刘出 圣 又及 友□ 垔 圣 将 州欠 永券礼券 戈为夫
‹BORN.e.ci bo.hu.án TWO m.o tz.[...] giỏ tai bo zỏ.qó c.e.en.e ś.a.rí›
'She gave birth to two children. The elder was [...] *taibao* 太保. The younger was *Chene, court attendant'. (Nu 9)

3.195 *snake:* 仕礼及 ‹mu.ho.o›. Cf. Ju. *meihe* (Ki. 165), Mo. *moɣai.* Ma. *mehei.* The zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳. Cf. Mo. *moɣai.* Liu Fengzhu 1983 suggested **mehai* on the basis of the Jurchen and Mongol forms. Chinggeltei suggested **mogo.*

3.196 *son:* 将为 ‹bo.qo›. In the Chinese text of the *Eulogy for Shengzong* there is a reference to Xingzong, his son and successor. In the Kitan verson of the *Eulogy for Xingzong* there is a reference Xingzong's son and successor, Daozong. Liu Fengzhu 1985 noted that the *Eulogy for Daozong* contains a geneology of Taizong, Shizong, Jingzong, Shengzong and Xingzong, which demonstrated that 将为 ‹bo.qo› means 'son' Cf. 友夾 将为 又雨 伞生及礼 巫 ‹u.oi bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa› 'mourning son, succeeding khan' The meaning of 又雨 ‹m.in› is not known. Suggestions are 'spirit, spiritual' or 'my, our'
父 将为 ‹HEAVEN bo.qo› 'son of heaven 天子'
父 将为 主王雨 非朱 丙焚方 杰尔 兴仇 今金屮衮屮灵
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po.do ei.ý.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'At the time of Tianzi huangdi 天子皇帝 he was given the title of prince of Yan 燕王' (Nu 5-6)

3.197 *Song state:* 伞尔火 八犬 ‹s.uŋ.un g.ui› ~ 伞尔 八夾 ‹s.uŋ g.úr›
伞尔火 八犬伏 友雨 八犬 矣灵 雨夾
‹s.uŋ:un g.ui.ń tz.in g.ui miŋ.an cau.úr›

'The army of the *meng'an* 猛安 the defender generalissimo 鎮国 of the Song state 宋國' (Bo 16)

3.198 *south:* 小. Reading unknown. This graph also seems to mean 'tribe, ethnic group, kinship group' Wang Hongli 1986 explained 小 𘮋𘮈 ‹siȯ u.ur› as 'southern division 南院' 小 ‹siȯ› is a mnemonic from Ch. 小.

3.199 *south, lower:* 𘮌𘮆~𘮌𘮆~𘮌𘮋𘮆 ‹te.gė ~ de.gė›
𘮌𘮆 𘮈𘮃 ‹te.gė g.iŋ› 'southern capital, Yanjing 燕京'

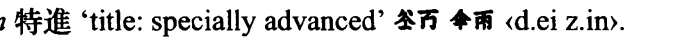
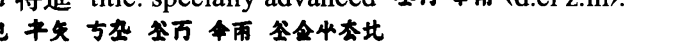
3.200 *spouse:* 𘮌𘮏 ‹n.ó› ~ 𘮌𘮍 ‹n.o› 'spouse'
𘮌𘮍 𘮌𘮃𘮄𘮐 𘮋 𘮐𘮌 𘮌𘮋 𘮏𘮆 𘮈𘮆
‹n.o t.il.uh.iń hua ŋ.êm n.u z.iaŋ g.ün›
'Her spouse was Dilgun, General Huayannu 華嚴奴' (Gu 7)
𘮌𘮏𘮃 𘮀 𘮁 𘮃𘮈𘮌 𘮆𘮐 ... 𘮏𘮋𘮆 𘮌𘮏𘮆 𘮆𘮐 ... 𘮆𘮋𘮃 𘮌𘮄𘮆 𘮈𘮆 𘮆𘮐
‹n.ô.in THREE BIG in.gi.d aú.ui c.ur.én te.bu.ei.én aú.ui 063.ia.iů cu.ń g.e aú.ui› (Zhi 14)
'He had three wives. The most senior was her highness *Ingid... the second was her highness *Tabuye 撻不也 the most junior (?) was her highness *Chunge.

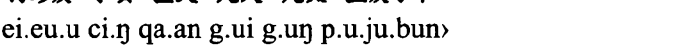
3.201 *spring:* 𘮏𘮐 ‹heu.úr› Cf. MMo. *qabur*, Mo. *qabur* Da. *xaur*.
𘮏𘮐 𘮌𘮁 ‹heu.úr ne.bú› 'spring *nabo*'

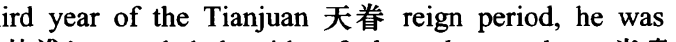
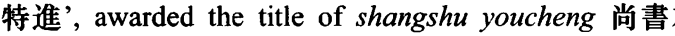
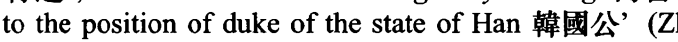
3.202 *summer:* 𘮆𘮐 ‹ju.un› Mo. *ǰun*.

3.203 *supreme capital:* 𘮋𘮏 𘮈𘮃 ‹u.ur g.iŋ› '*Shangjing* 上京'
3.204 *sweet dew:* On the canopy of the Xu inscription, 𘮌𘮎𘮆 𘮍𘮋𘮁 𘮍𘮆𘮋 𘮆𘮐 𘮍𘮋𘮏 𘮆𘮐𘮌 𘮆𘮐𘮌 ‹ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.kả on.a.án›. On the side of the canopy of the inscription, there are six Chinese characters: 掩閉日, 甘露降 *yan bi ri, gan lu jiang* 'on the day it was closed, sweet dew fell' The reading of 𘮆𘮐 is unknown.

3.205 *taizi:* 太子 'heir apparent': 𘮍𘮐 𘮆𘮐 ‹tai ss›
𘮍𘮐 𘮆𘮐 𘮍𘮆𘮋 𘮋𘮏 𘮆𘮐 𘮌𘮆𘮐 𘮆𘮐𘮌𘮆𘮐
‹tai ss ś.iau.u sh:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei›
'Having been awarded the titles of *taizi* 太子 heir apparent and *shaoshi* 少師 junior preceptor... (Linggong 11)

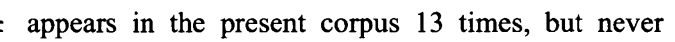
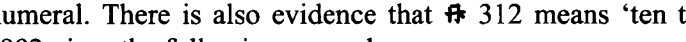
3.206 *tejin* 特進 'title: specially advanced' ‹d.ei z.in›.

‹d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii,

ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ qa.an g.ui g.uŋ p.u.ju.bun›
'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was 'specially advanced 特進', awarded the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞 and promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han 韓國公' (Zhonggong 21)

3.207 *ten thousand:* ‹TEN THOUSAND› 2.187. See also 2.312. Perhaps ‹tůmu›. appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. There is also evidence that 312 means 'ten thousand' Toyoda 1992 gives the following examples:

‹TEN THOUSAND ui› 'ten thousand matters 萬事'

‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:en› 'ten thousand states 萬國'

‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.ur›
'A thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋' (Toyoda 1998)

‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qa›
'The khan controlling ten thousand states'
 ‹tůmu.úr t.úŋ.a›, a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, seems to correspond to 圖木里同刮 **tumur tunggua*, a name in the Chinese version of Renxian. (Ji Shi 1996).

‹TWO 312› 'twenty thousand' (Renxian 49)

‹TEN TEN-THOUSAND û.ji:en› (Renxian 11)
'provided a hundred thousand' This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten counties of Chinese territory taken by the Liao. ‹û.ji:en› may mean 'provided', derived from ‹û-› 'to give' and might be allographs.

3.208 *tent* 帳 (tribal unit)*:* (380) also written . means 'month', but on many occasions clearly refers to a tribal unit, 'tent' *Research* did not distinguish from , and many modern transcriptions of Kitan inscriptions do not distinguish them either. Ji Shi pointed out that and were quite different graphs. occurs in the sense of 'tent' in  ‹jȯ qó en› 'of the tent of the younger uncles' ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er› is 'maternal uncles 國舅';  ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zȯ.qó TENT:en› is 'of the tent of the younger maternal uncles of the state'.

3.209 *tent of the junior maternal uncles* 小翁帳: 力亚出爻 州欠 艾 ‹na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT› is quite common. In Xu 3 this line there are several spaces before 九奕礻 力亚出爻 州欠 艾 礻 𡍮雨 𠂤用 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zỏ.qo TENT.en ŋ.in s.iŋ›, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. 𡍮雨 𠂤用 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› corresponds to 銀青 *yinqing*, part of the title of the composer *wengzhang yinqing* 翁帳銀青 on the right side of the Xu inscription. So 州欠 艾 礻 should mean 翁帳 *weng zhang* 'of the tent of the junior maternal uncles'. According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi*, there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang:* the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. 力亚出爻 州欠 艾 礻 ‹na.ha.án.er SMALL.qo TENT:en› can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. The reading of 艾 is unknown.

3.210 *that:* 口 ‹qi› ~ 口刘 ‹qi.hu›
口 非 ‹qi po› 'that time' (Langjun)
口 非 口 廿 口 尺 口 非朱 ‹qi po qi MONTH qi DAY qi po:do› (Zhonggong) 'That year, that month, that day, that time…'
口 𠂤杏 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'
口 丰 戈与 罢 火 𠂤术 𠂆尔 关仉 今金州本丙 九术 𢎘礻 圣 犹九𡍮 夫州叉
‹qi ai ś.eu tai ui s.uŋ oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei g.uŋ c.en TWO us.gi:id rí.l.ún›
'That year, having been awarded the titles of *shou taiwei* 守太尉 and prince of Song 宋王, he was promoted to the rank of meritorious official with two characters in his title'
口刘 丰 𢀛矣 刘圣用亚为亏 子太 戈火 州用 反扎
‹qi.hu ai b.as hu.jur.il.ha.a.al ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ o.ho›
'That year he was then appointed secretariat director (中書令).
口 also appears in 口北伏 ‹qi.ii.ń› Xi 奚, the name of a tribe or an ethnic group related to the Kitans.

3.211 *third:* 𠂤爻 ~ 刘化爻 ‹hu.úr.er› (masc.); 刘化与 ‹hu.ur.én› (fem). 刘化爻 and 刘化与 are also written 𠂤爻 ~ 𠂤与, indicating the word for 'three' (written 包) was possibly **ɣur*. Cf. Mo. *ɣurban* 'three'

3.212 *thirty:* 𠂉 ‹THIRTY›. Reading unknown.
穴 廿 𠂆 毛 尺矢 与奕 𠂉 戈矢 …. 劣奕𢀛伏
‹nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY:de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE:de tu.úr.bo.ń›
'On the eleventh day of the first month, at thirty five years of age she died'. (Gu 13)
又反 …. 与奕 𠂉矢 为丰 劣奕中‹m.o eu.úr THIRTY:de a.ai, tu.úr.bun›
'The eldest… being thirty years of age, died'. (Han Dilie 6)

3.213 *thousand:* 𗈪 ‹THOUSAND› (207). Perhaps ‹miŋ›. Cf. Mo. *mingya* ~ *mingyan*, Ju. *mingan* 'thousand' (Ki 664).
𗈪 𗍫𗍬 𗊴 𗃽𗆮𗍬 ‹miŋ heu.úr tumůn n.am.úr› (Xuan 30)
'1000 springs, 10000 autumns 千春萬秋'
𗈪𗊴 ‹miŋ.án›: *meng'an* 孟安 (title)
𗍫𗍊𗍬 𗍫𗀍 𗅋 𗈪 ‹p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND› (食邑二千)
𗍫𗍊𗍬 𗍫𗀍 𗍊 𗈪 ‹p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND› (食邑五千)
'fiefdom of five thousand households' 食邑 means 'to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them'. (Hucker 5258).

3.214 *three:*𗀍 ‹THREE› (166). Possibly **yur*, cf. Mo. *yurban* 'three' or **gor*, cf. Ju. *gorhon* 'thirteen'
𗀍 𗍫𗅋 ‹THREE ai:d›'three males' 𗀍 is the masculine form of 𗀍.

3.215 *throne:* 𗗙𗊴𗀍 ‹hu.o.gȍ› appears in 𗅲 𗍊 𗗙𗊴𗀍 ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gȍ› in Daozong 6, which corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* 'Throne of Eternal Happiness' in the Chinese epitaph. 𗅲 is 'eternal' 𗗙𗊴𗀍 ‹hu.o.gȍ› must correspond to 座 'throne' or similar.

3.216 *tiger:*𗃽𗃽𗍫 ‹qa.ha.as›. Corresponds to 寅 in the heavenly branches. A common Chinese word for the tiger is the 'king of the beasts 獸王' so ‹qa.ha› might be 'king, khan', and ‹as› 'animal, beast' 𗃽𗃽𗍫 ‹qa.ha.as› is sometimes compared to Daur *gerees* 'animal' In the *Yanbeilu* 燕北錄 we read 番兵以蔞珍思為號, 漢語熊虎二字也 "the barbarian soldiers use the term 蔞珍思 *louzhensi* as their name; in Chinese this means 熊虎 bear and tiger". In another edition of the *Yanbeilu*, we read "the barbarian soldiers use the term 蕃珂忍 *fankeren* as their name, in Chinese this means 龍虎 "dragon and tiger" Most researchers agree that "bear and tiger" should read "dragon and tiger" Chinggeltei 1991 suggests the characters 蔞珍思 should be 蔞珂思, so Kitan **lu xayas*. From other examples we know 'dragon' was 𗋽 ‹lu›.

3.217 *time:* 𗂧 ‹TIME› 2.279. Probably ‹po›. 𗂧 often appears with the locative suffix 𗍊 ‹do›, i.e. 𗂧𗍊 'at the time' Cf Ju. 玫爻举 **fu-on-do* (Jin *Dict.* p. 76), presumably reflecting Jin Ju. **po'on-do*. The correspondence between Kitan 𗂧 **po* and Jin Ju. 玫爻 **po-on* is indubitable. Ju. **po'on* may just be a transcription convention, but it is possible that here we have a case of a Jurchen nominal suffix (*-an, -in, -on*) attached to a Kitan word. The Kitan large script graph for 'time' is 玫, clearly similar to Ju. 玫. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for 'time' as 𠳿, and notes that 𠳿 is pronounced like 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 瞎里𠳿, 漢人譯云 '瞎里'是

'請', 时是'時': the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means 'to invite', *po* is 'time'. *Research* suggested the reading [po].

3.218 *title; to grant a title:* 𘮫𘮬 ‹d.em› ~ 𘮬𘮬 ‹t.em›. Chinese 封 'to enfeoff' The word may be related to Mo. *temdeg* 'mark, sign, signal'. It often appears with the causative/passive suffixes: 𘮫𘮬𘮪𘮫𘮭 ‹d.em.le.ge.én›, with 𘮪𘮫 ‹le.ge› indicating the causative/passive and 𘮭 ‹én› the past tense.

𘮧 𘮨 𘮩𘮯 𘮰𘮯 𘮱𘮲𘮪𘮫𘮳 𘮴𘮵𘮫 𘮶 𘮷𘮸 𘮹𘮺 𘮻𘮼 𘮬𘮬𘮪𘮫𘮪𘮫𘮽

‹TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›

'In the twenty third year… He was granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and Prince of Wu 吳王' (Ren 22)

3.219 *together with:* 𘮾𘮿 ‹deu.úr› (同)

𘯀𘯁 𘯂𘯃 𘮾𘮿 𘯄𘯅 𘯆𘯇 ‹em.en nai.d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci› (Langjun 4)

'After he drank wine with the local officials…'

𘯈 𘯉𘯊 𘮾𘮿 𘯋𘯉𘯌𘯍 𘯎𘯏 ‹siȯ u.ur deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.or›

'He became the associate administrator 同知 of the southern division'

𘯐𘯑 𘯒𘯓 𘯔𘯕 𘮾𘮿 𘯋𘯉𘯌𘯍 𘯖𘯗 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii›

'Having been appointed to the position of associate administrator 同知 in the bureau of military affairs ' (Di 20)

𘯋 ‹KNOW› corresponds to 知 'to be in charge of, to manage' in official titles.

3.220 *tomb:* 𘯘𘯙 ‹ne.ra›

𘯚𘯛𘯜 𘯝 𘯞𘯟 𘯘𘯙 𘯠𘯉 ‹ku.uŋ.iń tai bo:en ne.ra p.u›

'This is the tomb of Kongning *taibao* 孔寧太保'

𘯡𘯢𘯘 𘯣𘯤 𘯥𘯦 𘯧𘯨 𘯘𘯙𘯍 𘯚𘯣𘯭 𘯪𘯫.

‹te.ge.n g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ:on ne.ra:de g:en RECORD.g.én TEXT.ú›

'Epitaph on the tomb of the late prince of Guangling prefecture'

3.221 *transfer to:* 𘯬𘯭𘯮𘯢𘯰 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› 'having been transferred, having been moved to' (徙). In the *Eulogy of Daozong*, 徙殯於仙游殿之西階 *xi bin yu Xianyoudian zhi xi jie* 'it was transferred for burial to the steps at the west of the Xianyoudian', 𘯬𘯭𘯮𘯢𘯰 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› corresponds to 徙 *xi* 'to transfer, to move' The stem of 𘯬𘯭𘯮𘯢𘯰 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› is 𘯬𘯭 ‹x.ui› 'come' 𘯬𘯭𘯮𘯢𘯰 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› is a causative form with the converb suffix 𘯰 ‹ei›. The word following 𘯬𘯭𘯮𘯢𘯰 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei›, 𘯱𘯲𘯳𘯴𘯵 ‹kė.d.ha.ai›, corresponds to 殯 *bin* 'to put into a coffin; to bury' This word also occurs in Renyi 13 where it corresponds to 殯 *bin* in the Chinese inscription. 𘯱 means 'bury'. Its reading is unknown. 𘯱 ‹kė› is a mnemonic from 可.

3.222 *travel:* 𘯶𘯷𘯸 ‹se.m.én›

‹se.m.én ordu.ú› 'travelling palace 行宮'

‹se.mu.én o.ordu.u.dú› (LOC) (Daozong 5)

‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun tá.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di

mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i siȯ shǐ se.mu.én ordo.u.dú s.a.kả l.iu.rén.er›
'The sacred great filial eternal Chongxi emperor Xingzong, when he was residing *in* the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* of the *miri*, passed away'
‹mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad› might mean 'horse nabo'

3.223 *tribe, clan* 部:
‹ńi.oh.úr› ~
‹ńi.ó.úr› ~
‹ńi.ô.úr› ~
‹n.iû.úr› ~
‹n.ó.úr› ~
‹ńi.ó.úr› ~
‹ńi.ô.úr›.

3.224 *twenty:*
‹TWENTY› (002). Reading not known.

‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de qi s.em.ii.er iu›
'At the age of twenty two, she became ill and died'. (Yong 35)

‹TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'In the twenty third year [he was] granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and prince of Wu 吳王'. (Renxian 22)

3.225 *two:*
‹TWO› 2.134. The stem of the word for 'second' in the inscriptions is
‹c.ur›, so perhaps is
‹cur›; Chinggeltei suggests *ǰur*. MMo. *ǰir ~ǰur* 'two'; Ju. *ǰu ~ǰue;* Ma. *juwe* 'two'; *juru* 'a pair'

‹TWO mu.u.ji:d› 'two emperors';

‹TWO♂ qa.ha:ad› 'two khans'

3.226 *uncle (maternal):*
‹naha› 'uncle', cf. Mo. *nayaču* 'maternal uncle; relatives on mother's side'

3.227 *uncle (elder brother of father):*
‹ia ai›.

‹ia ai m.ii.û s.iáŋ g.ün›
'His paternal uncle was general *Miiu'. (Xu 46)

‹ia ai ś.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di›
'His uncle, emperor Xingzong'.

‹t.ei z.û hoŋ di:en ia ai bo.qo› 'son of the uncle of Emperor Dezu' (Gu 5)

2.228 *uncle (younger brother of father):*
‹deu ai›.

𗼻 𗾞 𗹦𗵆 𗰗𗹦𗰜𗼻 ‹hoŋ tai ś.eu bo.gi.ci› 'The imperial uncle *huangtaishu* 皇太叔, *Bogici. 𗵘 𗼻 𗰗𗹦𗰜𗼻 ‹deu ai bo.gi.ci› 'father's younger brother, Bojizhi'.Bojizhi 孛吉只 was the younger brother of Xingzong. When Xingzong died, Daozong, not Bojizhi, inherited the throne. Bojizhi's son, Nielugu 涅魯古 was involved in the Chongyuan 重元 rebellion against Daozong.

𗵘 𗼻 𗼻 𗾞 𗹦𗵆 𗰗𗹦𗵘𗰗 𗼻𗼹 𗹦𗵆 𗰗𗹦 𗵘 𗹦𗵆𗼻𗵘 ‹deu ai hoŋ tai ś.eu bo.qo c.ú g.ui oŋ ńi.ar.û›

'The son of the father's younger brother, the imperial uncle, prince of the state of Chu, *Niaru'

We also find the term 𗼻𗹦𗵘𗰗 𗼻 ‹c.ur.én ai› 'second father' translating 仲父 *zhongfu* 'second in a series of brothers', as in Xu 12: 𗼻𗹦𗵘𗰗 𗼻 𗹦 𗵆𗹦 𗰗𗾞𗵘 ‹c.ur.én ai NORTH u.ur l.êm.a› 'second father, *linya* of the northern division'

3.229 *upper and lower states (or: North and South states) Liao and Song:* 𗹦𗾞 𗰗𗵘 𗾞 𗰗𗰗 ‹UPPER.d te.gė TWO g.úr›

'Upper and lower (or: north and south), the two states (Liao and Song)'

3.230 *upper, superior:* 𗾞 (009). This seems to be a contraction of 𗹦 (001) 'above, upper' and the plural ending 𗼻‹d›, so 'the upper ones, the superiors'

3.231 *upright:* 𗰗𗼹 ~ 𗼻𗼹 ‹te.po› ‹de.po› 正 *zheng* 'upright' (?)

Cf. Ma. *tob* 'straight, upright, serious, right, just'

3.232 *venerable:* 𗽾𗵘𗰗 ‹mu.le.gi›

𗽾𗵘𗰗 𗼻 𗼹𗵆 𗵆𗵘𗹦𗼹𗵘𗵆 𗰗𗵘𗵆 𗰗𗼹𗵆𗵘 𗵆𗵘𗼹 𗰗𗼹𗵆𗵘

‹mu.le.gi hoŋ.di.in n.ul.ri.ha.a.án PLACE.de ta.ha.ar o.ju.ún›

'The final resting place of the venerable emperor was closed' (Zhixian 7)

3.233 *virtue:* 𗰗𗵆𗵘 ‹t.iu.rėn› (德).

3.234 *war, battle:* 𗵆𗰗 ‹cau.úr› cf. *Liaoshi* 炒伍倆 *chao-wu-er*; MMo. *ča'ur* 'war'

3.235 *west:* 𗹦 ‹WEST› (040). Reading unknown. Suggestions include **ör* (Chinggeltei), *hörene* (Toyoda); **uru* (Ji Shi); *xoru* (Aisin Gioro).

𗹦 𗹦 𗾞 𗹦 𗼹 ‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss›

'The bureau of punishments 招討司 of the north west'

𗹦 𗹦 𗵆𗹦 ‹NORTH ~ UPPER SOUTH/LOWER u.ur› 'the northern and southern divisions'.

It is not clear if 十 means 'west' or 'south' The directions may have been expressed in terms of forward, backward, upper and lower. The terms for the directions in Ju. (*juleši, fulisi, fanti* and *uliti* Ki. 590-594) are also isolates, and may shed some light on the directions in Kitan. Final *ši* and *ti* may be suffixes.

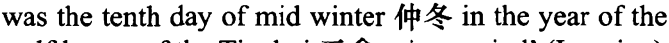
3.236 *western capital:* 伞关 八用‹s.i g.iŋ› < 西京.

3.237 *white:* 禾 ‹WHITE› (004)- dotted form 禾 ‹WHITE♂›. The reading is not known. Sometimes forms based on Mo. *caɣan* 'white' *caɣaɣcin*, Ma. *šanyan* 'white', *šahûn* 'whitish, pale, dull white' are proposed.
禾 ㄓ平 ‹WHITE eu.ul› 'white cloud'
禾 又金 ‹WHITE♂ m.em›'silver ice 銀冰'
父 伞分ㄓ为ホ 仑 禾 发 丰 圣 艾 仑 尺矢 佃爻
‹HEAVEN ú.dû.ha.a.ar ONE WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY.de BORN.er› (Nu 9)
'He was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon in the Chongxi reign'

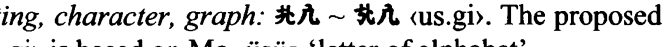
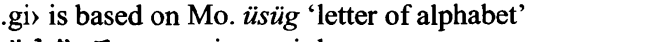
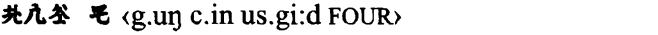
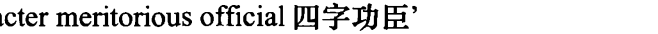
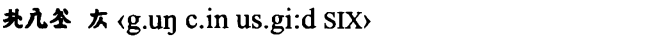
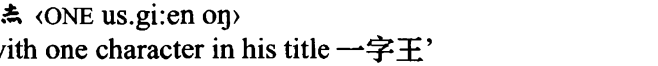
3.238 *wife:* 丙几 ‹mó ku› 'female person'.
丙 几 八犬 止关 册为 兆吞 屮兔 ‹mó ku g.ui p.i bo.qo sh.ï l.aŋ›
'His wife was titled state consort, his son vice director'
册为关 册为 止及 伞韭 八亦利 丙 几 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo p.u s.iáŋ g.ün:en mó ku›
'His grandchild was the wife of general Pu'
丙 几 屮关 伞交 分禾伏 ‹mó ku l.i s.ie pu.is.iń›
'His wife was Lady Li Jie'
八犬 ㄔ尔 又 丙 几 ‹g.ui oŋ:on GREAT mó ku›
'The senior wife of the prince'
Another term for wife, or perhaps wives and consorts, may have been 止ホ ‹p.ar› or 丙今 止ホ ‹mó.t p.ar›. Mo. *beri* 'daughter-in-law, bride'; Ma. *berhu* 'form of address used by a wife to her husband's younger sister, or by an elder sister to her younger brother's wife'

3.239 *wine:* 酌册 ‹342.bo› 金利 穴公 为夾 酌册 圣ホ 乂关禾只犬 止币屮叉 ‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.ad.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
place GEN official PLUR together wine drink PAST happy SUFF return PAST
'after he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy'

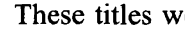
3.240 *winter:* 及平 ‹u.ul›. Cf. Mo. *ebül*, Da. *uɣul*.
口 非 父 今丙爻 仑 圣 伞考丈 血ㄓ冬 丰 尺夾叉 及平 毛 尺 业反肉

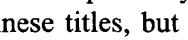
‹THAT TIME HEAVEN t.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as YEAR do.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
'The time was the tenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year of the blue tiger 甲寅, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period' (Langjun)

‹as.ar TWO YEAR u.ul, go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei, c.i.is:en oŋ:od mo.ha.as nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri:se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d› (Nu 7-8)
'During the winter of the second year of the Qingning 清寧 period, having gathered at the tent of the khan, the princes of the blood and the children of the great officials were granted titles ' The meaning of ‹se.ra.d› is unknown.

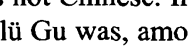
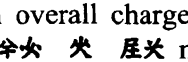
3.241 *write:* ‹ci:er› (PRET). ‹ci:er› is found at the end of inscriptions immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription (題).

3.242 *writing, character, graph:* ~ ‹us.gi›. The proposed reading of as ‹us.gi› is based on Mo. *üsüg* 'letter of alphabet'

‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR›
'four character meritorious official 四字功臣'

‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d SIX›
'six character meritorious official 六字功臣'

‹ONE us.gi:en oŋ›
'a prince with one character in his title 一字王'

‹qid.i c.iau qú.i us.gi x.an na al.a.ar c.iau qú.i qid.i sh COMPOSE.ún›
'He could write Kitan and Chinese well, and composed poems in Kitan and Chinese' (Zhong 7)

‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i›
'person in charge of writing matters = Hanlin academician' 翰林 'Hanlin [academy] is also transcribed ‹ho.a.an l.i.in›.
That ‹us.gi› means 'writing, written word' is known from the expressions 四字功臣 *si zi gongchen* 'meritorious official with title containing four characters' and  ‹qid.ún.i g.úr:en us.gi› 'the writing of the Kitan state' The expression 'four character meritorious official' refers to an official honorary title which contains four characters, such as 守正保義 *shou zheng bao yi* 'uphold justice protect righteousness' A 'six character meritorious official' had a title with six characters, such as 輔忠保義奉国 *fu zhong bao yi feng guo* 'support loyalty protect righteousness, supporter of the country' The expression *yi zi wang* 'one character prince' means a title which had only one character, such as 陳

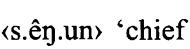
國王 *Chenguo wang* 'the prince of Chen', 魏國王 *Weiguo wang* 'the prince of Wei' 王 is normally translated 'king', but in such titles is an abbreviation for 親王 'prince of the blood' These titles were restricted to people of this status.

The *Eulogy for Daozong* was composed by Yelü Gu. Most of his official titles are transcriptions of Chinese titles, but the term  ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i› was not Chinese. In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liao History*, we learn that Yelü Gu was, amongst other things, 総知翰林院事 *zongzi Hanlinyuan shi* 'in overall charge of the Hanlin academy' So Shen Hui concluded must be 'controller of written matters', that is, 'Director of the Hanlin Academy' Also written ‹us.gi.en ui hur.ú›.

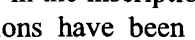
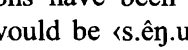
3.243 *xianggong* 相公  ‹s.iáŋ g.uŋ› **sianggung* 'lord'

3.244 *xiangwen* 詳穩:  ‹s.êŋ.un› 'chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers'
 ‹NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ů.en s.êŋ.un›
東北路詳穩 *dongbeilu xiangwen* '*Xiangwen* of the north east circuit'
 ‹ńi.ô.ho:en› has the stem ‹ńi.ô› 'tribe' ‹s.êŋ.un› sometimes corresponds to 將軍 'general' in the inscriptions. The phonetic value of is not known. Several suggestions have been made: **əŋ *kul *aŋu.* If we transcribe as ‹êŋ›, would be ‹s.êŋ.un›. Chinggeltei has suggested may not be *xiangwen* at all. In the texts he examined, ‹s.êŋ› appears once, ‹s.êŋ.dú› three times, ‹s.êŋ.un› twenty one times. does not appear with any suffixes, as one would expect from a noun.

3.245 *year*: ‹ai›.
 ‹ai:se› (plural) ‹ai:de› (locative) 'in that year'
 ‹ai:en se.le.bo› 'the order of the year 歲次 (the position of the year in the hexagenary cycle)'

3.246 *years of age*: ‹eu.úr› 'years of age'
 ‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun›
'He died at the age of seventy four'

3.247 *yellow*: , . Reading unknown, but perhaps **nügü ~ nigu.* See 4.60.

3.248 *yilijin* 夷離堇 *tribal chief*:  ‹ri.g.en› *yilijin.*
 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ.di:in bu ai bo.gi.ń □□□ ri.g.en rí.i ai se.ra.ha.ad.iń t.il.uh›

'The grandfather of Heaven Emperor 天皇帝 was the tribal chief *yilijin* 夷離堇 *Bogin (Abaoji < Abugin?). His ancestor (?) father was *Serahadiń *Diluh 迪魯古' It is possible that 𘮫𘮞𘮈 ‹bo.gi.ń› may be a form of the name Abaoji < *Abugi, the founder of the Liao state. 𘮬𘮐𘮓𘮈, *Serahadiń, the father of Abaoji, was transcribed in Chinese as Salading 撒剌汀.

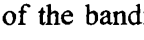
3.249 *yilimian* 乙林免, ~ 迤廻免 *or* 夷離畢 *yilibi* 'tribal title' 𘮓𘮃𘮈 ‹yi.l.iń› = *yilimian* (Ji Shi 1988, Chinggeltei 1992). This is a common word in the inscriptions, and presumably a title. According to Liu Fengzhu, it is an honorary title granted to the wife of an imperial clan member when he is promoted to the position of prince (*wang*).

3.250 *young*: 𘮭𘮓 ‹YOUNG.qú›'young'
𘮭𘮓 ‹YOUNG.qú› is often combined with 𘮁𘮆 ‹eu.úr› 'time, age, period', and is sometimes contrasted with 𘮓𘮭𘮓 ‹m.ó.qú› 'old, elder, eldest' when listing elder and younger siblings.
𘮭𘮓 𘮁𘮓 𘮈 ‹YOUNG.qú eu.úr.de› 'at a young age'
𘮭𘮓 𘮭𘮃𘮂𘮁 𘮃𘮭 𘮂𘮃𘮓 𘮃𘮭 ‹YOUNG.qú te.me.ei.én go.t ei.ie›
'The youngest, Temian 特免, is still with her family (i.e. not yet married)'

3.251 *younger brother:* 𘮁 ‹deu›. younger brother. Haneda 1925 noticed that 𘮁 is similar to Jurchen, Ki. 287 **degun,* cf. Ka. 665 **deu.*
𘮂𘮂𘮇 𘮁 ‹qa.ha:an deu› (Langjun) 'younger brother of the khan'
𘮁𘮓𘮈 𘮄 𘮓𘮭𘮭 𘮀𘮇 𘮃𘮓 𘮀𘮈 𘮃𘮭 𘮀𘮇 𘮁𘮓 𘮀𘮇 𘮃𘮭 𘮀𘮇 𘮂𘮂𘮇𘮁𘮓𘮂𘮂𘮇
‹deu.ń.ún TWO♂ m.as.qu ta.ai ś.i n.u SMALL.qó pu.uŋ g.e tz.in g.ui pu.is.iń:en qa.yó.le.ha.ai›
'There were two younger brothers. The elder was Taishinu. The younger the lady of the state of Feng and the state of Zhen 豐国鎮国夫人…'
𘮁𘮓𘮓 𘮈𘮃 𘮈𘮁 𘮀𘮈 𘮄 𘮆 □□□□ 𘮄 𘮆
‹deu.iń.er ś.i ś.en n.u tai sh … tai sh› (Yong 21)
'the younger brothers, *Shishennu *taishi* and … *taishi*'

3.252 *younger maternal uncles:*
𘮆 𘮫𘮍 𘮇 𘮭𘮂𘮃𘮁 𘮓𘮃 𘮃𘮭 𘮍𘮂𘮓 =[出] 𘮓𘮂𘮭
‹mó bo.qo ONE pu.kả.x.én aú.ui SMALL.qó na.ha.án dzi.bu.qu
𘮈𘮁𘮓𘮈 𘮈𘮂𘮓𘮆 𘮁𘮆 𘮈 𘮄𘮈 𘮓𘮈 𘮓𘮁
ś.a.rí.de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr TEN EIGHT c.ar iu›
'There was one daughter… She married *Jibuqu, court attendant, of the younger maternal uncles 小舅帳. She died some time ago at the age of eighteen' 𘮓𘮁 ‹c.ar› 'some time ago' is in Langjun.

3.353 *yuyue* 于越 'tribal title': ‹û.e›. A title used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* 'counsel' (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432).

3.354 *zhaotao* 招討 'bandit suppression commissioner': ‹jau tau›
 ‹jau tau l.iŋ g.uŋ› (招討令公)
 ‹jau.tau.ss› 'bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner 招討司'

CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGY

> When Kitan children first learn to read, they first invert the order of the words in accordance with their spoken language, and sometimes they need three words to express one. When I was serving as Ambassador to the Jin State, my companion was the Vice Commissioner and Vice Director Wang Pu. Every time he gave me an example of Kitan it made me laugh. For example, when they read 鳥宿池中樹, 僧敲月下門*niao su chi zhong shu, seng qiao yue xia men* 'a bird rests on a tree in the middle of a pond, a monk beats the door under the moon', they say 月明裏和尚門子打, 水底裏樹上老鴉坐*yue ming li heshang menzi da, shuidi li shushang laoya zuo* 'moon bright in monk door hits, water bottom in tree on crow sits', something like that. Wang Pu was a Kitan from Jinzhou. - Hong Mai (1123-1202), *Yijianzhi.* Quoted in Wittfogel and Fêng *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, p. 244. [1]

The quotation from Hong Mai indicates that Kitan had postpositions, or perhaps case endings, and that the verb was at the end of the sentence. In this section, we shall look at the evidence for nominal and verbal morphology in the Kitan texts.

4.1 Accusative-instrumental in 𘮩 ‹er›

𘮞𘮩 𘮜𘮇𘮃 𘮬𘮭𘮩 𘮐𘮈𘮞 ‹l.i c.eu:en nai.d.*er* bo.áŋ.hu.ai›
[Lizhou GEN official PLUR ACC order PART]
'He ordered the officials of Lizhou 醴州 prefecture'
𘮏𘮩 𘮑𘮜 𘮁子𘮇𘮞 ‹RITUAL:*er* t.ar o.ju.ha.a:ai›
'[The tomb] having been closed by means of a ritual…'
𘮀𘮆 𘮩𘮋 𘮏𘮩 𘮑𘮆𘮞𘮩 ‹û:n i.ri RITUAL:*er* t.em.le.ge:er›
'The title of *yuyue* 于越 was invested by means of a ritual'
𘮀 𘮩行𘮩 𘮁子𘮇𘮞 力𘮍𘮇 𘮏 𘮜比𘮀𘮐
‹GREAT ho.mú:*er* o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.ai CEREMONY k.ii.û.ji›

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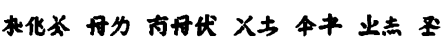
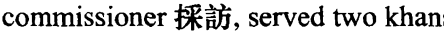
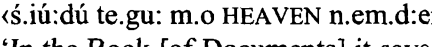
[1] Chinggeltei 1997a gives a word for word transcription into Mongol: *Saran-du xooš ang egüde toɣ sixu-du naɣur taxi modun-du xeriy-e saɣ umui.* 'While the moon is shining, a Buddhist monk beats a door, and a raven sat on the tree in the bottom of the water' Jagchid 1979:206-277 gives another Mongol version: *Saran gegegen dur khuwuragh egüden-i toghshiju; usun-u modun degere keriye saghumui.* Many of the examples of Kitan morphology in this chapter are from Aisin Gioro 2004a.

'Having closed the great catalpa coffin, they were caused to rest in peace; this is called the [appropriate] ceremony' (or: 'this was in accordance with the [prescribed] ceremonies'

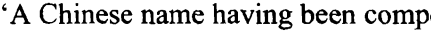

‹c.ur.er bo.qo, hor.bo.ń x.eu, s.ai p.oŋ TWO: qa.ha.ad.*er* rėn.le.ge.er›
'The second son, *Horbun Heu = Heluben Hou 曷魯本吼, investigation commissioner 採訪, served two khans'

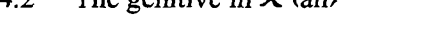

‹ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d:en eu.ul.e.ei, ia.lí p.u t.iu.rėn:*er* ar.ó.le›
'In the Book [of Documents] it says: "Great Heaven has no favourites 親族; it assists only the virtuous"


‹c.iau qú.ui i.ri s.uŋ us.gi.er COMPOSE.ha.ai, deu bu ai sa.a.am.ińs.iaŋ g.uŋ.un go.*er* xi.le.ge.er›
'A Chinese name having been composed and written in the Song writing, the maternal grand uncle Lord *Samin inherited the lineage'

4.2 The genitive in 灵 ‹an›

‹qa.ha:*an* xe.dú.ún go.er›
'the house (lineage) of the horizontal tents 橫帳 of the khan'


‹go.n ca:*an* i.ri›
'the title of surveillance commissioner 觀察'


‹xe.ci hor.a:*an* ui›
'the affairs of the people of the city'

‹pu m.a:*an* bo.qo›
'the son of the emperor's son-in-law 駙馬'

‹l.êm.a:*an* bo.qo›
'the son of the *linya* 林牙'

4.3 The genitive in 和 ‹en›
This is the most frequent of the genitive endings. It mainly follows consonants (including the semivowel *i*):

圣礼 又冬欠 符为 ‹TWO:*en* m.as.qó bo.qo›
'the eldest child of these two people'

九奕礼 戈火 又刃 ‹g.úr:*en* ś.iú mo.rèn›
'the military affairs commissioner of the nation 樞密'

令奕虫 乂火礼 符为 ‹s.y.iên x.ui:*en* bo.qo›
'the son of the director of the court ceremonial institute'

戈为六礼 曲爻礼 久平伏 令羊 业土尔 曲爻
‹ś.a.rí:*en* go.er:en uh.ul.iń s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er…›
'the house/tent/lineage 帳 of the investigation commissioner 采訪 *Ugulin of the house of the court attendant…郎君'

支九礼 及化 业当 朱为礼 关仉 ‹dzi.g.en u.úr p.oŋ c.a:*en* i.ri›
'the title of investigation commissioner 訪察 of the left administration'

朱关秀礼 土 ‹c.i.is:*en* oŋ›
'prince of the blood'

句 业羊辻礼 戈为六签 ‹SEAL p.ai.ss:*en* ś.a.rí:d›
'the court attendants of the bureau of ceremonial seals 印牌司'

圣 兆礼 符为 ‹tai sh:*en* bo.qo›
'the son of the grand preceptor 太師'

令羊关 令母 九亦礼 关仉 ‹t.ai.i z.iaŋ gün:*en* i.ri›
'the name (or title) of the senior general 大將軍'

及化 九闲礼 业丙 戈土 ‹u.ur g.iŋ:*en* l.iu ś.eu›
'the regent of the supreme capital 上京'

六母 公尔礼 及化 羊 ‹da.lȯ n.on:*en* u.ur ai›
'ancestors of seven generations'

4.4 The genitive in 雨 ‹in›

雨 ‹in› follows syllables with the main vowel *i*:
主王雨 ‹hoŋ.di:*in*›
'of the emperor'

𐰉𐰆𐰴𐰃 ‹tai.ś.i:*in*›
'of the grand preceptor 太師 *taishi*'

𐰴 𐰋 𐰋𐰃 𐰓 𐰀 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ di:*in* bu ai›
'the grandfather of the Heaven Emperor 天皇帝'

𐰴 𐰋 𐰋𐰃 𐰇 𐰆 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ di:*in* ia deu›
'the brothers of the Heaven Emperor'

𐰚𐰴𐰃 𐰉𐰍 ‹pi.i:*in* bo.qo›
'son of the consort 妃'

𐰉 𐰆𐰴𐰃 𐰉𐰍𐰴 𐰉𐰍 ‹tai ś.i:*in* bo.qo:i bo.qo›
'the grandson of the grand preceptor'

4.5 The genitive in **𐰍** ‹on›

𐰉 𐰋𐰍 𐰴𐰞𐰺 𐰋𐰆𐰸 ‹tai oŋ:*on* ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én›
'inscription on the tomb of the great prince 大王墓誌'

𐰼𐰃 𐰆𐰺 𐰋𐰍 𐰴𐰞𐰺 𐰋𐰆𐰸 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ:*on* ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én›
'inscription on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue 越國王墓誌'

𐰆𐰇𐰺𐰍 𐰉𐰍 ‹m.as.qó:*on* bo.qo›
'the son of the eldest [son]'

𐰺𐰣𐰴 𐰓𐰋 𐰚𐰋𐰍 𐰲𐰇 ‹uh.ul.*iń* s.ai p.oŋ:*on* go.er›
'the tent (lineage) of the investigation commissioner 採訪 *Ugulin.'

𐰓𐰃 𐰓𐰃 𐰆𐰺 𐰋𐰍 𐰆𐰽 𐰉𐰍 ‹s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:*on* m.o bo.qo›
'the eldest son of the prince of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉'

4.6 The genitive in **𐰾** ‹un›

𐰾 ‹un› usually appears after stems with the main vowel [u] and the semivowel [ŭ]:

𐰆𐰺𐰾 ‹ku.û:*un*›
'of.the.man'

主 介尖 几相灵 月伞
‹hoŋ heu:*un* g.en:ún TEXT.ú›
'eulogy for the empress'

几丙术尖 ‹g.iu.uŋ:*un*›
'of the palace'

尺夭 伞当尖 非朱 ‹dau.u z.uŋ:*un* po:do›
'at the time of Daozong'

今方 今尖 刃仉余 ‹te.gė fu:*un* ja.r.qó›
'the prime minister of the southern prefecture 南府'

发关 今交方 主 丞 介尖 ‹ŋ.i t.ie.ên hoŋ tai heu:*un*›
'of the empress dowager Yitian 儀天'

杰夭 为灵 求与尖 曲公 丽 ‹w.u a.an c.eu:*un* go.n ca›
'the surveillance commissioner 觀察 of Wu'an prefecture'

舟关 伞光尖 舟勿 ‹b.ý.z.iú:*un* bo.qo›
'the son of the *biexu* 別婿'

几太 支光尖 舟刘出 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú:*un* bo.hu.an›
'the children of the princess'

4.7 The genitive in 公 ‹n›

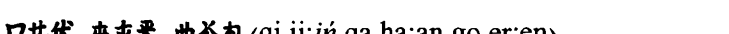
灵芬 ‹ún.e› 'now'
灵公 ‹ún.n› 'of the present'
只芬 ‹û.e› '*yuyue*' 于越
只公 ‹û.n› 'of the *yuyue*'

4.8 The genitive in 伏 ‹ińˊ›

伏 ‹ińˊ› (used with plurals?)

夭仳伏 丰公 ‹u.ur.*ińˊ* ai:d›
'former fathers: ancestors'

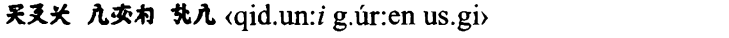
夭仳伏 仉几公 ‹u.ur.*ińˊ* ri.gi:d›
'former tribal judges *yilijin* 夷離堇'

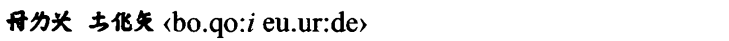

‹qi.ii:*iń* qa.ha:an go.er:en›
'of the household/tent 帳 of the khan of the Xi 奚'

‹n.em:d:*iń* ia deu:un›
'of the brothers of the imperial clan' (Xu 2)

4.9 The genitive in 𘍿 ‹i›

‹qid.un:*i* g.úr:en us.gi›
'the writing of the Kitan state'. (Zhong 6)

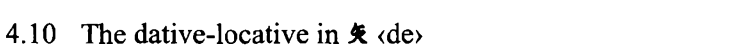

‹bo.qo:*i* eu.ur:de›
'at the time when he was a child'

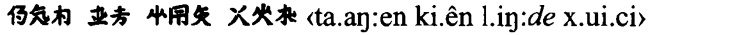
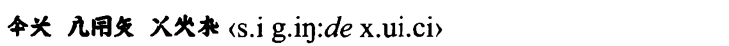

‹bo.qo:*i* i.ri›
'childhood name'

‹bo.qo:*i* bo.qo›
'son of a son = grandson'

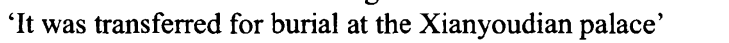
4.10 The dative-locative in 𘍾 ‹de›

‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:*de* x.ui.ci›
'After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty'


‹s.i g.iŋ:*de* x.ui.ci›
'After he came to Xijing (the western capital)'


‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên:*de* x.ui.r.ge.ei kė.d.ha.ai›
'It was transferred for burial at the Xianyoudian palace'

‹û.d.u.o.ón TEN ai:*de*›
'in the tenth year of the Da'an period'

‹NINE ai:*de*›
'in the ninth year'


‹s.úŋ g.ui:*de*›
'in the Song state'

‹eu.ur FORTY FIVE:*de* s.em.ii te.ge:en›
'At the age of forty five, having fallen ill, he died'

‹eu.ur SIXTY TWO:*de* tu.úr:bun›
'He passed away at the age of sixty two'

‹eu.úr TWENTY SIX:*de* tu.úr.bo.ń›
'He passed away at the age of twenty six'

‹tai sh:*de* û.ul.ge:en›
'She married the grand preceptor'

‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO *de* THAT s.em.ii.er iu›
'At the age of twenty two, he fell ill and died'

‹TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY:*de* BORN:er›
'born on the sixth day of the twelfth month'

‹y.e g.ui oŋ:on ne.ra:*de* ENGRAVE.g.en›
'engraved on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue'

4.11 The dative-locative in 朱 ‹do›

‹po.*do*›
'at that time'

‹ja.r.qó:*do* û.ul.ge:er›
'She married the prime minister 宰相'

‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:*do*, ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge:ún›
'At the time of the emperor Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of prince of Yan 燕王'

‹s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:*do* û.ul.ge:le.ń›
'She was married to the prince of the States of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉'.

‹ś.iŋ s.úŋ:un po:*do*›
'at the time of Shengzong 聖宗'

4.12 The dative-locative in 𗼇 ‹dú›

The dative-locative in 𗼇 ‹dú› follows stems with the main vowel [u].

𗴲𘜶𗗙 𗦳𗥃𗼇 𗹦𗟲𗅆 𗹦𗗙𗤶𗂧𗂧 ‹xe.ci:en ku.û:dú ś.iá.ah śi.mù.le.ge.er›
‘[as] to the people in the city, he treated [them] well’

𗹦𗴂 𗼇 𗍫𗐱 ‹ś.iú:*dú* te.gu›
‘In the the *Book of Documents* it says…

𗍫𗀍𗐯 𗾔𗹦𗼇 𗍫𗏁𗤶 𗤶𗍊𗥞𗂧 ‹s.em.én ORDU.u.*dú* s.a.kå l.iu.rèn.er›
‘He fell ill; while he was staying in the *ordo,* he died’

𗍫𗧓𗼇 𗥃𗤓𗂧𗐯 ‹s.êŋ.*dú* û.ul.ge.er›
‘She married the *xiangwen*’

4.13 The dative-locative in 𗴂 ‹iú›

𗉘𗏁𗴂‹car.a:*iú*› ‘to Cara (personal name)’

𗠇𗂆𗏁𗴂 𗏁𗅋𗐱 𗹦𗾔𗹦𗼻𗗙 𗍊𗍫 𗅋𗍫 𗍫𗀍 𗐱𗍫 𗼻𗂧 𗉘𗂧
c.as.a:*iú* a.ha.al, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er
Having been assigned *to* the *jasa* 閘撒, he was made commander in chief of the army and general administrator of the armies of the *ordo*...

𗴂 is clearly ‹iú› in transcriptions of Chinese, but such a reading is anomolous with its role as a dative/locative suffix after stems with [a], which would suppose a reading like **da*. The issue remains unsolved.

4.14 The prolative (ablative) in 𗥃𗴲‹de.i›

𗥞𗂆 𗍊𗍫 𗍫 𗅋𗏁𗂧 𗐱𗍊𗥃𗴲 ‹FIVE NINE g.iŋ HUNDRED go:en:er us.gi:de:i›
‘From the writings of the hundred schools, the nine classics and the five classics’ There are many examples of 𗥃𗴲 ‹de.i› as a suffix in the texts (including the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* in Chapter Six), but the context does not enable us to translate these with accuracy. Cf. Ma. *deri* ‘prolative (ablative) suffix’

4.15 The plural in 𗂧 ‹d›

𗂧‹d› is the most common plural suffix, and can be followed by other affixes:

戈 王爸村 穴爸爻关 ‹FIVE♂ di:*d*:en nai:d.i›
'of the officials of the five emperors'

弟 穴爸 ‹jau nai:*d*›
'the hundred officials 百官'

占 仕及豹爸 ‹SEVERAL mu.u.ji:*d*›
'several sacred ones [emperors]'

至 仕及豹爸 ‹EIGHT♂ mu.u.ji:*d*›
'eight sacred ones [emperors]'

斥· 丰爸 ‹SEVEN♂ ai:*d*›
'seven fathers/males'

包 丰爸村 ‹THREE♂ ai:*d*:en›
'of the three paternal houses 三父房'

及化伏 丰爸 ‹u.ur.iń ai:*d*›
'male ancestors'

化九爸 ‹ri.gi.*d*›
'plural of **化九村** ‹ri.g.en› *yiligin*'

戊为六爸 ‹ś.a.rí:*d*›
'plural of **戊为六** ‹ś.a.rí› court attendant'

毛 犹九爸 九水 永村 ‹FOUR us.gi:*d* g.uŋ c.en›
'meritorious official with a title of four characters 四字功臣'
九水 永村 至 犹九爸 ‹g.uŋ c.en EIGHT us.gi:*d*›
'meritorious official with a title of eight characters 八字功臣'

尔犬爸 ‹aú.ui:*d*›
'plural of **尔犬** ‹aú.ui› *niangzi* 娘子 'royal lady'

包 兆爸爻 ‹THREE♂ sh:*d*:er›
'three preceptors 師 (accusative)'

禾 乂用爸村 ‹NINE♂ x.iŋ:*d*:en›
'of the nine capitals'.

Note 𗼇𗴲 ‹x.iŋ› for 𗴂𗴲 ‹g.iŋ› 京.

𗍫 𗥃𗢳𗏵 ‹TEN ki.ên:*d*›
‘ten counties 縣 **hien*’

4.16 The plural in 𗹦 ‹t›

𗹦 follows 𗏁 ‹mó› ‘mother, wife, female’ and some other nouns.

𗏁𗹦 𗰜𗵘𗤁 ‹mo:*t* bo.hu.an›
‘girls, daughters’

𗖵𗹦 ‹qi:*t*›
‘those’ (plural of 𗖵 ‹qi›‘that’)

𗖵𗹦 𗍊𗹦𗢳 ‹qi:*t* ai:s:er›
‘those years (acc.)’

4.17 The plural in 𗢳 ‹ad›

𗣼 𗥃𗥤𗢳 ‹SIX♂ qa.ha.*ad*›
‘six khans’

𗤶 𗥃𗥤𗢳 ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:*ad*›
‘two khans’

𗼇𗼇 𗹙𗰗𗢳𗢳 [=𗹙𗰗𗢳𗢳] ‹qid.i REGION.a.*ad*:er›
‘the Kitan regions (accusative)’

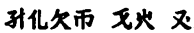
𗰜 𗹙𗰗𗢳𗍊 ‹FOUR REGION.a.*ad*:en›
‘of the four regions’

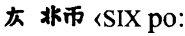
𗤁 𗵘𗣫𗼻 𗥤𗤶𗰗𗢳 ‹SEVERAL ń.ó.lí c.as.a:*ad*›
‘several tribal *jasa* 閘撒’

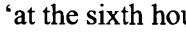
𗤁 𗼻𗢳 ‹SEVERAL miŋa:*ad*›
‘several thousands’

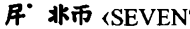
𗼻 𗂧𗍫𗥃𗏵𗢳 ‹FIVE n.ai.d.le.ha.*ad*›
‘the five harmonies 五和’

4.18 The plural in 币 ‹od›

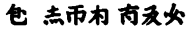

‹ja.r.qó.*od* ś.iú mo.rèn:*d*›
'prime ministers 宰相 and military affairs commissioners 樞密'


‹SIX po:*od*›
'at the sixth hour' *or* 'six hours'


‹SEVEN♂ po:*od*›
'seven hours' *or* 'at the at seventh hour'

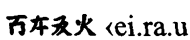

‹THREE♂ oŋ:*od*:en hor.u:un›
'of the people of the three princes'

4.19 The plural in 火 ‹ud›


‹ei.ra.u.*ud*›
'Yelü' is possibly a plural form.

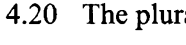
4.20 The plural in 爭 ‹se›

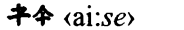
‹ai:*se*›
'years' (cf. ‹ai:*d*› 'fathers')


‹EIGHT NINE ai:*se*›
'eight or nine years'

‹TWENTY ai:*se*›
'twenty years'

‹TEN ui:*se*›
'ten matters 事'


‹qid:*se*›
'the Kitans'


‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:*se*›
'ten thousand countries 萬國'

‹THREE♂ MONTH:*se*›
'three months'

ᠶᠡᠰᠦ ᠦᠨᠡᠭᠡᠨ ᠤ ‹NINE♂ n.on:*se*:en›
'of nine generations' (ᠦᠨᠡᠭᠡᠨ ‹n.on› 'generation')

ᠦᠨᠡᠭᠡᠨ ᠤ ᠶᠡᠰᠦ ᠮᠢᠩᠭᠠᠨ ᠤ ‹n.on:*se*:en miŋa:an nai›
'an official with the inherited title of *meng'an* 猛安'

ᠦᠨᠡᠭᠡᠨ ᠤ ᠰᠡᠭᠦᠯᠡᠭᠡᠢ ‹n.on:*se* se.bu.ei.i›
'continuing on from (previous) generations'

4.21 Other plurals

ᠪᠣᠭᠣᠴᠠ ‹bo.qo› 'son, child'; ᠪᠣᠭᠣᠰᠤᠨ ‹bo.hu.an› 'children'

ᠨᠢᠭᠤᠳᠠ ‹ń.iau› 'sibling'; ᠨᠢᠭᠤᠳᠠᠨᠠᠷ ‹ń.iau.ń.er› 'siblings'

ᠠᠪ ‹ai› 'father'; ᠠᠪᠤᠭ ‹ai:d› 'father's lineage 父房'

ᠰᠠᠭᠤᠷᠢ ‹ś.a.rí› 'court attendants' ᠰᠠᠭᠤᠷᠢᠨ ᠶᠠᠮᠤᠨ ‹ś.a.rí:d› 'bureau of court attendants 郎君班'

ᠪᠤ ‹bú› 'external groups' 别部; ᠪᠤᠭᠤ ‹bú:d› 'the group of clans which married into the imperial Yelü clan, referred to in Chinese as Xiao'

4.22 Order of suffixes

The plural suffix comes before the case suffix:
ᠳᠥᠷᠪᠡᠨ ᠠᠷᠠᠳ ᠤᠨ ᠨᠤᠲᠤᠭ ‹FOUR REGION.a:*ad*:en nai:d›
'the officials of the four border areas'

ᠭᠤᠷᠪᠠᠨ ᠤᠯᠤᠰ ᠤᠨ ᠬᠣᠤᠷ ‹THREE♂ oŋ:*od*:en hor.u.un›
'of the people of the three princes'

ᠬᠤᠶᠠᠷ ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠠᠷ ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:*ad*:er›
'two khans (accusative)'

4.23 Summary table of genitive, dative and plural suffixes

	GEN	DAT	PLUR
[e]	ᠠᠨen	ᠳᠡde	ᠭᠤᠳ d ᠤᠨ t
[o]	ᠤᠨon	ᠳᠤdo	ᠣᠳod
[u]	ᠤᠨun	ᠳᠤdú	ᠤᠳud

[a]	灭an	火iú	东ad
others	关i 雨in 伏iń 公n		伞se

4.24 Ordinal numbers used with masculine nouns

'first, eldest'	'second'	'third'
(1) 又反m.o	(1) 和他爷‹c.úr.er›	(1) 舍爷‹hur.er›
(2) 又反m.o	(2) 和他爷‹c.úr.er›	(2) 刘他爷‹hu.úr.er›
(3)又冬欠[余]	(3) 和他爷 ‹c.úr.er›	(3) 刘他爷‹hu.úr.er›
m.as.qó[qú]	(4) 和他爷 ‹c.úr.er›	(4) 刘他爷‹hu.úr.er›
(4) 又反m.o	(5) 支他爷 ‹dz.úr.er›	(5) 刘他爷‹hu.úr.er›
(5) 又反m.o	(6) 和他爷 ‹c.ur.er›	(6) 舍爷‹hur.er›
(6) 又反 m.o	(7) 和他爷 ‹c.ur.er›	(7) 刘他爷 ‹hu.úr.er›
(7) 又冬余m.as.qú	(8) 和他爷 ‹c.ur.er›	
(8) 又反m.o		
'fourth'	'fifth'	'sixth'
(1) 令他爷‹t.úr.er›	(1) 令币反扎‹t.od.o.ho›	(1)六爷‹SIX.er›
(2) 叁他爷‹d.úr.er›	(2) 令东反扎‹t.ad.o.ho›	(2)六爷‹SIX.er›
(3) 令他爷‹t.úr.er›	(3) 令币反扎‹t.od.o.ho›	(3)六爷‹SIX.er›
(4) 令他爷 ‹t.úr.er›	(4) 令币反扎‹t.od.o.ho›	
(5) 叁他爷 ‹t.úr.er›	(5) 令东反扎‹t.ad.o.ho›	
(6) 令他爷‹d.úr.er›	(6) 令东反扎‹t.ad.o.ho›	
(7) 令他爷‹t.úr.er›		
'seventh'	'eighth'	
(1)六丹‹da.lò›	(1) 巫仉爷 ‹EIGHT.ri.er›	
(2)六丹‹dá.lò›		

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Zhong (4) Gao (5) Hong (6) Yong (7) Hai (8) Xu

4.25 Ordinal numbers used with feminine nouns

'first'	'second'	'third'
(1) 又 ‹GREAT›	(1)和他当 ‹c.úr.én›	(1) 刘他当‹hu.úr.én›
(2) 又‹GREAT›	(2)和他当‹c.úr.én›	(2) 刘他当‹hu.úr.én›
(3) 又冬丈‹m.as.qú›	(3)和他当 ‹c.úr.én›	(3) 舍当‹hur.én›
(4) 又‹GREAT›	(4)和他当 ‹c.úr.én›	(4) 乂他当‹x.úr.én›
(5) 又冬丈‹m.as.qú›	(5)空	(5) 刘他当‹hu.úr.én›
(6) 又‹GREAT›	(6)和他当‹c.úr.én›	(6) 刘他当‹hu.úr.én›

'fourth'	'fifth'	
(1) 𐲀𐲉𐲍‹t.úr.én›	(1) 𐲀𐲎𐲏𐲍‹t.od.o.in›	
(2) 𐲁𐲉𐲍‹t.úr.én›	(2) 𐲀𐲎𐲏𐲍‹t.od.o.in›	
(3) 𐲀𐲉𐲍 ‹t.úr.én›	(3) 𐲀𐲎𐲏𐲍‹t.od.o.in›	
(4) 𐲁𐲉𐲍‹d.úr.én›		

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Gu (4) Di (5) Xu (6) Gao

4.26 Grammatical gender: past tense of verbs

In the past tense of verbs, one can also see this distinction between the suffix ‹er› for males and ‹én› for females. A clear example is:

𐲋𐲌𐲑 𐲀𐲍 ...𐲂𐲏𐲓𐲁

‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ l.iu.rèn:*er*›

'[the emperor] Xingzong passed away'

𐲀𐲌𐲒𐲑 𐲋𐲌 𐲂𐲏𐲓𐲍

‹s.y.iên i.i l.iu.rèn.*én*›

'[the empress] Xuanyi passed away'

4.27 Grammatical gender: the dotted forms

The question of the "dotted forms" is a vexed one. With the colours, there might be a correlation between the undotted form and the first of the pair of stems which corresponds to it and the dotted form with the second, but a clear pattern has not yet emerged. Some of the colours have different suffixes, which suggests the dotted form has some phonetic implication. With the numerals, Wu Yingzhe has noticed an important phenomenon: in most cases, the dotted form refers to a male, and the undotted form to a female, or is non-gender specific. Dotted and undotted forms also appear with inanimate objects, strongly suggesting grammatical gender in Kitan. The whole corpus needs to be reexamined with a view to pursuing these clues, but that research has not yet been done. See Wu Yingzhe 2005a.

4.28 Verbal morphology

Finite verbs are found at the end of a sentence; converbs within the sentence, indicating 'after which', 'because of' and so on. Finite verbs have three past

tenses: the past tense in 𐰀 ‹ar› ~ 𐰃 ‹er› ~ 𐰆 ‹or›; the past tense in 𐰴𐰍 ‹l.ún› (with variants) and the past tense in 𐰋𐰉 ‹bo.ń› ~ 𐰋𐰍 ~ ‹b.ún› ~ 𐰴 ‹bun›.

4.29 The past tense in 𐰀 ‹ar›

𐰇𐰇𐰍 𐰴𐰉𐰍𐰃 𐰴𐰃 𐰋𐰃 𐰃𐰀 𐰇𐰀𐰇𐰀 𐰴𐰉𐰀 𐰀𐰃 𐰃𐰀 𐰴𐰃 𐰋𐰃 𐰃𐰀 𐰇𐰀𐰇𐰀 𐰴𐰉𐰀 𐰀𐰃

‹qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er SMALL.qu ai:en | doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d | c.as.a rẻn.er, us.gi hur.ú:un ui □.n KNOW.i | ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh | COMPOSE.a.*ar*›

'Yelü Gu 耶律固, official in charge of writing matters, court attendant of the bureau of seals and passes, on service in the *jasa,* of the younger paternal lineage 季父房 of the horizontal tents of the khan 横帳, *composed* 撰 [this] '

𐰇𐰃 𐰆𐰴 𐰃𐰢 𐰉𐰍𐰋 𐰃𐰀 𐰴𐰉 𐰴𐰃 𐰃𐰀 𐰴𐰃 𐰋𐰃 𐰃𐰀 𐰇𐰀𐰇𐰀 𐰴𐰉𐰀 𐰀𐰃

‹k.em sȯ:or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji:en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu yi.il.ińˊ û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.*ar*›

'By imperial edict 敕奉, on the basis of *Daily Agenda of Seven Emperors* Si Jianu 司家奴 of the house of the *yilimian? yuyue*, composed 撰 [this]'

4.30 The past tense in 𐰃 ‹er›

𐰇𐰃 𐰃 𐰴𐰉 𐰴𐰃 𐰃𐰀 𐰃𐰀 𐰃𐰀 𐰆𐰴 𐰇𐰀𐰇𐰀 𐰴𐰉𐰀 𐰀𐰃

‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss d.em.le.ge.*er*›

'He was awarded the title of commander unequalled in honour'

𐰴𐰀 𐰴𐰍 𐰇𐰆 𐰃 𐰆𐰴 𐰴𐰉𐰀 𐰀𐰃

‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün oŋ d.em.le.ge.*er*›

'He was awarded the title of Prince of Lanling'

**𐰍 𐰃𐰃𐰇 𐰀 𐰃𐰲 𐰇 𐰋 𐰃 𐰇 𐰋 𐰃 𐰇 𐰋 𐰃

4.31 The past tense in 仝 ‹or›

丁 亦矢 仐夃 几丙丬 兆吞 业反仝
‹TWENTY SIX:de pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh.ï p.o.*or*›
'At twenty six he was a *fu gong shi*'

釜文方 伞文方 门 釜釜 几文釜 业反仝
‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.or›
'He was appointed *dianqian du dianjian*'

4.32 The past tense in ‹l.un›

坚为出 几火雨 刃化余 佃用叉
‹car.a.án g.ui:in ja.r.qó BORN.*il.ún*›
'The prime minister, *Cara *Guiyin, was born'

坚为木 丙文方 𠂢 几火雨 佃仆叉
‹car.a.ár ei.ie.ên g.ui:in BORN.*l.ún*›
'Chara 查剌, Prince of Yan 燕王, Guiyin 國隱 was born'

丁 尸矢 曲公 闹 兆吞 釜金仆套仆叉
‹TWENTY SEVEN:de go.n ca sh.ï d.em.le.ge.*le.ún*›
'At twenty seven he was awarded the title *guanchashi* (surveillance commissioner).

仆关 朴土朴 穴釜爻 将业刘羊 戊矢夃讷釜 仅 令欠州仆业亏叉
‹l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.áŋ.hu.ai śi.de.u.ji:d jǐn se.qó.zở.le.ha.*al.ún*›
'He ordered the officials of Lizhou that artisans renovate [the Qianling tombs]'

支几朴 夃化 业当 朴为朴 关化 令金仆叉
‹dzi.g.en u.ur p.oŋ c.a:en i.ri t.em.*l.ún*›
'He was awarded the title of *fangcha* (examiner) of the left administration 左院'

父 将勿 主 玉雨 非朱 丙文方 𠂢尔 关化 令金仆套仆叉
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:do ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'At the time of emperor Tianzi, Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of prince of Yan 燕王'

父 冬木 尤奕 羊矢 令劝 几闲 劳丬 龙 业反仝 几文釜 马丬 戊火 仆闲雨 关化 令金仆套仆叉

‹HEAVEN as.ar yủ.úr ai:de, te.gė g.iŋ tu.uŋ tz p.o.or, g.ie.êm ju.uŋ ś.iu l.iŋ i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'In the first year of the Qingning 清寧 reign period, he was made the associate administrator 同知 of the southern capital 燕京, and concurrently was awarded the title of *jian zhongshuling* 兼中書令'

一 汲化 友 仲公 业反仝 令术 点尔 关仇 令金𠂤𠂤又
‹NORTH u.ur tz ű.n p.o.or s.uŋ oŋ i.ri t.em.l.e.l.ún›
'He was made the director 知院 of the northern administration, and given the title of the prince of Song 宋王'

4.33 The past tense in **𠂤伏** ‹bo.ń› ~ **𠂤又** ‹b.ún› ~ **屮** ‹bun›

丞 令右 戊考汲 北 丸平只失 𠂤风 北 炎 戊勾 令𠂤几亦 业反子𠂤又
‹tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün p.o.ju:*b.ún*›
'The crown prince *taizi* 太子, junior preceptor *shaoshi* 少師, was concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍'

仝仝万爻 包 口亏垫 仝万 令雨 仝仝𠂤𠂤比 雨勾 戊火 万与 朴贷 盘买 几失 几太 业反子屮
‹d.em.ei.er THREE □ al.□ d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu ci.ŋ ka.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju:*bun*›
'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period , he was given the title of 'specially advanced', and given the title of right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞, and was made lord of the state of Han 韓國公'

伏 伏又 汲交只当 业关 冬公 住汲豹村 又反 与 令当 贷炎关 点尔 业关 业汲雨𠂤伏 与交 丁 友矢 劣交𠂤伏
‹ńi ńi.ún u.úr.û.en p.i as.n mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.ui:i oŋ:on p.i p.u.gỏ.le.ń eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr:*bo.ń*›
'His sister was appointed consort of the imperial elder younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and Wei 魏. She died at the age of twenty six'
丞 今汲 𠂤雨 令为乃 戊韭 北 龙雨 点 业反子屮
‹d.ai f.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iáŋ sh tz.iŋ oŋ p.o.ju:*bun*›
'He was appointed *tai fu ling san sheng shi zheng wang* 太傅領三省事鄭王'

4.34 The causative/passive in 𐦏𐦍𐦀 ‹le.ha› ~ 𐦏𐦍𐦃 ‹le.ge›

After back vowels, the causative/passive suffix is written 𐦏𐦍𐦀 ‹le.ha› (‹el.ha›?), 𐦄𐦍𐦀 ‹al.ga› and 𐦓𐦍𐦀 ‹ul.ha›. After stems with front vowels the suffix is written 𐦏𐦍𐦃 ‹le.ge› or 𐦓𐦍𐦃 ‹ul.ge›. In some cases, the [l] is omitted:
𐦋𐦆 ‹ú.dû› 'at peace'
𐦋𐦆𐦏𐦍𐦀 ‹ú.dû:*le.ha*-› 'cause to be at peace, pacify'

𐦇𐦌 ‹BORN› 'born'
𐦇𐦌𐦏𐦍𐦀 ‹BORN.*le.ha*-› 'cause to be born: give birth to'

𐦅𐦈𐦁 ‹û.úr-› 'sit'
𐦅𐦈𐦁𐦏𐦍𐦃 ‹û.ur.*le.ge*-› 'cause to sit, cause to be seated'

𐦊𐦌𐦁 ‹t.em-› 'award a title'
𐦊𐦌𐦁𐦏𐦍𐦃 ‹t.em.*le.ge*-› 'be awarded a title'

𐦄𐦏𐦈𐦂 ‹n.ai.dzi› 'be friendly'
𐦄𐦏𐦈𐦂𐦏𐦍𐦀 ‹n.ai.dzi.*le.ha*› 'cause to be friendly, bring about peace'

𐦍𐦉𐦆𐦃 ‹p.o.ju› 'be [in an official position]'
𐦍𐦉𐦆𐦃𐦍𐦀 ‹p.o.ju.*ha*-› 'to be appointed, to be promoted'

𐦈𐦅𐦓 ‹dau.ul-› 'lead'
𐦈𐦅𐦓𐦍𐦀 ‹dau.*ul.ha*-› 'be lead, follow'

𐦉𐦆𐦃 ‹o.ju› 'close'
𐦉𐦆𐦃𐦍𐦀 ‹o.ju.*ha*› 'cause to close, be closed'

𐦆𐦐𐦇𐦑 ‹x.ui.r› 'arrive'
𐦆𐦐𐦇𐦑𐦏𐦃 ‹x.ui.r.*ge*› 'cause to arrive, send'

𐦎𐦄𐦓 ‹s.a.al› 'live at, reside'
𐦎𐦄𐦓𐦍𐦀 ‹s.a.*al.ha*› 'cause to reside, to settle'

𐦑𐦈𐦓 ‹ku.û.ul› 'grow up, become a man'
𐦑𐦈𐦓𐦏𐦃- ‹ku.û.*ul.ge*› 'cause to become an adult: to rear, nuture, educate'

4.35 Causatives and passives in context

又 米公反南 尺奕叉 国中骨伏 无卡中立半 只公 关仉 竹关 今金中荅关
‹GREAT ORDU.ô.o.ón dau.ur.ún, hó.le.bo.ń tau.kå.*le.ha*.ai, û.n i.ri doro:er t.em.le.g.er›
'In the middle of the Da'an 大安 reign period, he was summoned (?) and by means of a great ceremony, was given the honorary title of 于越 *yuyue*'

口 半 公乃奕 六立本关 无米廾平立半 骨本为灵 及仉 戈为六荅 令各女…
‹qi ai n.am.úr, da.ha.ar.i tau.ordu.ó.*ul.ha*.ai, bo.ra.a.an u.ur ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un…›
'In that year in the autumn he was summoned, and [appointed] *xiangwen* 詳穩 of the bureau of court gentleman 郎君班 of the right chancellery 右院'

令关 戈尖 业方 叔半 几火 力乃 今金中荅丙
‹s.i ś.ui ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am t.em.*le.ge*.ei›
'Having been awarded the honorary title of dynasty founding baron *kaiguonan* 開國男 of Qishui county 漆水縣… '

伏 伏叉 仕及豹和 又反 与 令当 发尖关 六尔 业关 业反雨中伏
‹ńi ń.ún mu.u.j:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.ui:i oŋ:on p.i p.o.*gỏ.le*.ń›
'His younger sister …was made the consort of the emperor's eldest younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and 魏 Wei'

4.36 The converb in vowel + i

半 ‹ai› **火** ‹ui› **夯** ‹oi› **丙** ‹ei› **北** ‹ii› **关** ‹i›. This converb indicates the order in which the action happened: 'then, after that' After back vowels it is **半** ‹ai›, after [u] it is **火** ‹ui›, after [o] it is **夯** ‹oi›. After other vowels it is **丙** ‹ei›, **北** ‹ii› or **关** ‹i›.

半 ‹ai›:
可荅立半 ‹kė.d.ha.*ai*›
'having been buried, after he was buried'

丙 ‹ei›:
今 几火 戈勿 令母 几亦 荅金中荅丙
‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ z.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.*ei*›
'having been granted the honorary title of senior bulwark general of the state 輔國上將軍.

北 ‹ii›:
雨勿 戈火丙与及 东发 令母 业反子北 令关 六 荅金中荅关

‹ca.aŋ ś.iu ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ p.o.ju:*ii*, s.i oŋ dem.le.ge.er›
'Having been promoted to [the position of] right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞相, he was granted the title of prince of Ji 濟王'

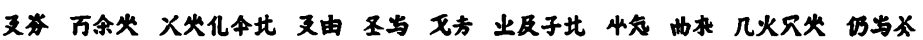
𗴲 ‹oi›
𗥃𗗚 𗍫 𗍊𗐯 𗏁𗤁𗍫𗗚 𗐯𗴲 𗒘 𗥃𗹦𗦳𗫂 𗢛𗂧𗤶 𗩾 𗹦𗐯 𗒘 𗥃𗹦𗦳𗫂 𗂧𗹦 𗩾 𗍊 𗹦𗐯 𗀛𗅋 𗤶𗐯 𗐯𗴲 𗐯𗴲 𗏁𗅋𗂧𗤁 𗀛𗒘 𗀛𗾔 𗏁𗍫 𗤶𗤁𗀛
𗀛𗀛𗥃𗗚
‹eu.úr TWENTY FOUR:de ku.kå.û.ur o.*oi* doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí cú.i; TEN ai:de, doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí a.*ai*, TEN ONE ai:de s.uni DAY.i nai o.*oi*, rẻn.ei.ii s.iau s.iaŋ g.ün i.ri:se t.em.le.g.er›
'At the age of twenty four, he became a palace attendant 近侍 and a court attendant in the bureau of ceremonies and seals 印牌司. In the tenth year, he was in the bureau of ceremonies and seals. In the eleventh year, he was given the titles of night and day guard 宿直官 and junior general 小將軍'

𗴢 ‹ui›
𗢛 𗀛𗅋 𗐯𗾔𗐯 𗍫 𗥃𗍊𗐯𗴢 𗍊𗍑 𗍫 𗴲 𗐯𗰜 𗀛𗾔𗍫𗗚 𗥃𗐯𗍫𗐯
‹tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.*ui* l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún›
'[He was appointed] junior preceptor 少師 of the crown prince 太子 and concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍'

4.37 The converb in 𗾔𗤁 ‹-s.ii›

𗂧𗦳 𗍊 𗐯𗥤 𗒘 𗉘𗴲 𗏁𗫂 𗥃𗐯 𗥃𗍫𗍊𗴢 𗏁𗤁𗍊𗤶𗾔𗤁 𗢛 𗀛𗅋 𗐯𗾔𗐯 𗍫 𗥃𗍊𗐯𗴢 𗍊𗍑 𗍫 𗴲 𗐯𗰜 𗀛𗾔𗍫𗗚 𗥃𗐯𗍫𗐯
‹qi.hu ai ś.an doro COMPOSE.i nai:en po.mo ei.qu.ui rẻn.ei.le.ha.*as.ii*, tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún›
'That year new regulations were composed determining official ranks, and as a result, he was appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger guard 龍虎衛上將軍 and junior preceptor of the crown prince 太子少師'

𗥤 𗀛𗣼𗐯𗏵 𗍫𗥃 𗍊 𗀛𗫂 𗁅𗍮 𗊛𗥃𗀛𗤁 𗍑 𗍊 𗏵 𗣼𗐯𗍑𗍫𗗚 𗍑𗍊
‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ii yủ.ur ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.ur:*s.ii*, SOUTH WEST jau tau p.o.ju.l.er›
'In the first year of the Tonghe 統和 reign period, as a result of the death of the prince of Qin 秦, (or: after the death of the prince of Qin), he was appointed the bandit suppression commissioner 招討 of the south west'.



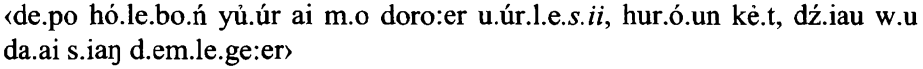
‹ún.e ei.qú.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii, ún.yȯ TWO:en ś.ian p.o.ju.ii, l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.û.ui rėŋ.én.er x.i.cėn □.ún›

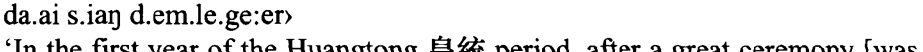
'Now, as a result of his visit (?) [or: after he returned] the appearance was like new, the corridors and buildings were high like towers; he was very happy'

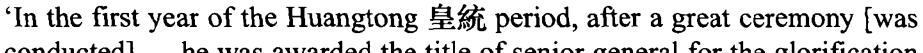
‹de.po hó.le.bo.ń yủ.úr ai m.o doro:er u.úr.l.e.*s.ii*, hur.ó.un kė.t, dź.iau w.u da.ai s.iaŋ d.em.le.ge:er›

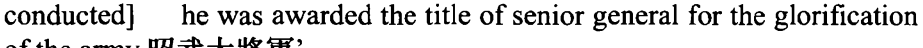
'In the first year of the Huangtong 皇統 period, after a great ceremony [was conducted] he was awarded the title of senior general for the glorification of the army 昭武大將軍'

4.38 Converbs in context









‹ń.iau.ń.ún SIX m.o hó.le.b.ún ś.a.rí eu.úr FIFTY ONE b.û.úr *a.ai*,

dz.úr.er te.bu.ei.er pu m.a HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ t.i.i neu.e mo.n dz.úr.er bo.qo, s.i g.ui g.uŋ dz.iú.un rí.l.ún.

Hu.ur.er u.úr û.er z.iaŋ g.ün eu.úr FORTY SEVEN, ún.e z.iaŋ g.ün p.o.gȯ.l.ún ún.e mú.ul.û.ui *a.ai*,

t.ur.er s.en ś.a.rí eu.úr THIRTY NINE ku.kả x.ui us.g:en ui:de *giȯ:ai,*

t.ad.o.ii t.em.er ś.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY FIVE b.û.úr *a.ai*,

SIX:er dz.bu.qu ś.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY TWO ku.kả û.ui ja.aŋ us.g:de *giȯ:ai*›…

'There were six siblings; the eldest, *Olibun 訛里本, court attendant, age fifty one, was present [at the funeral],

The second, *Dabuye, son in law of the emperor 駙馬, the second son of the Qingning emperor and the earth mother (empress), accompanied by the princess of the state of Qi 齊国公主…

The third, *Uru, a general, age forty seven, promoted to general of the guards 衛將軍…

The fourth, *Asin 阿信, court attendant, age thirty nine, palace attendant 近侍, responsible for written matters (Hanlin academician) was present;
The fifth, *Temei 特每, court attendant, age thirty five, was present;
The sixth, *Jabu, court attendant, age thirty two, palace attendant 近侍, in charge of written matters (?) was present…'

夹 釜丙爻 乞 乇 羊 舟号 几关关 久羊 伞非 几亦 釜金业釜丙 舟车为灵 永化 伞奂虫 乂坐 丙亏亚方 反子及

‹HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN ONE ai b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iàŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.*ei* bo.ra.a.an u.úr s.y.iên x.uŋ ei.al.ha.al o.ju.ún›

'In the eleventh year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period, he was awarded the title of senior general of the cavalry 驃騎大將軍, and appointed to the position of master of court ceremonial 宣徽 in the right administration 右院.'

夹 釜金丙爻 尤奕 羊矣 亏垒 圣 伞右 戊号永 兆 釜金业釜丙 釜交方 伞交方 仃 釜圣 几交圣 业及子比 伞奂虫 乂坐 为乃伏爻 为本

‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er yủ.ur ai:de al.194 tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh d.em.le.ge.*ei* d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.ju.ii s.y.iên x.uŋ a.am.iń.er a.ar›

'In the first year of the Tianjuan reign period 天眷, he was given the honourary title of *taizi shaoshi* 太子少師, was appointed chief inspector of the palace command 殿前都點檢 and had at the same time [the position of] master of court ceremonial 宣徽'

今金丙爻 圣 羊 亏垒 发雨 伞用 几志 发 久羊关 今 釜金业釜比 屋业列亦 关化伞 为乃伏爻 为本

[HEAVEN] t.em.ei.er TWO YEAR al.194 ŋ.in s.in g.oŋ lu da.a.ai pu d.em.l.*ii*; KNOW.le.hu.ad i.r:se a.am.iń.er a.ar›

'In the second year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period , he was awarded the honorary title of *yinqing guanglu daifu* 銀青光祿大夫. He had at the same time (?) the title of administrator'

釜金丙爻 包 羊矣 亏垒 釜丙 伞雨 釜金业釜比 雨勾 戊火 丙与永 永发 盘灵 几火 几夫 业及子业

‹d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ ka.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju.bun›

'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was 'specially advanced 特進' and was appointed right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞 and duke of the state of Han 韓國公'.

‹ún.n mu.u.j:en NINE FIVE de o.dź.*ii* ś.o pu pu.u ś.o t.em.le.ge.*ei* b.as l.iá.ah si.i u.úr.le.ge.ń dả nai:en i.ri t.em.le.gi m.in:de giỏ.*ai* pu ś.o t.em.le.ge.*ei* ii.a.an i.ri tir.mo.le.ge.*ei* w.u s.iŋ:en bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm p.o.gỏ.l.i mú.ul.û.ui a.*ai*›…

'The current emperor having acceded to the imperial throne 九五, he was granted the title of *shuaifu fushuai* 率府副率. Several officials were granted the title *fu shuai*… He was promoted to the position of military commandant of Wuqing 武清兵馬 and director in chief 都監'

4.39 The converb in 亏 ‹al›

‹TEN THREE YEAR:de s.i x.iŋ pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh p.o.or. THAT YEAR l.i.in g.ui.iń g.u.iń o.ORDU.u.un cau.úr c.ii.én c.as.a.iú a.ha.*al*, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er›

'In the thirteenth year, he became the deputy palace commander 副宮使 of the Jiqing 積慶 palace. In that year, having been appointed to the *jasa* 閘撒 of the armies of the jade *ordo* of […], he was also chief official in control, associate administrator 同知 and campaign commander 都統 of the armies of the *ordo*'

‹deu le.bủ.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh du g.iu.uŋ sh a.ha.a.*al*, ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un a.ai, t.ie.êm:d g.ie.êm:d deu.er n.ui kú.u ni.qo ś.au.a hur.ú KNOW.er›

'The younger brother, Lubuh 魯不古 Kungur 控骨里, having been made senior preceptor 太師 and palace commissioner 宮使, was a member of the bureau of court attendants, and *xiangwen*. He was in overall control of managers 點 and supervisors 檢, and also the general administrator of the palace storehouses 内庫 of dogs and eagles 犬鷹' Note the words ‹ńi.qo› 'dog' and ‹ś.au.a› 'eagle', which are also in the *Liaoshi*.

4.40 The converbs in ‹ci› and ‹ji›

‹ci› and ‹ji› appear to mean 'after'

‹ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ x.ui:*ci* g.iu.uŋ, t.ie.ên ei.iú.cèn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu:er›
'After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls were dilapidated…'

𗼇𗴲 𗥃𗵘 𗹦𗦳 𗅁𗖵 𗵘𗴲𗍊 𗵘𗴲 𗼇𗴲𗍊 𗵘𗴲𗍊 𗼇𗴲𗍊 𗵘𗴲𗍊
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.*ci*, x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún›
(**𗼇𗴲** ‹em:en› 'local'; **𗥃𗵘** ‹ai:d› 'officials' **𗹦𗦳** ‹deu.úr› 'together')
'After he drank wine with the local officials, he happily returned.'
(州之諸官，同酒飲高興地歸)
𗍊𗵘 𗼇𗴲 𗵘𗴲𗍊 ‹s.i. g.iŋ.de x.ui.*ci*›
'After he arrived at Xijing [the western capital]'

𗵘 𗵘𗼇𗴲 𗵘 𗴲 𗥃 𗵘𗍊 𗴲𗍊 𗼇𗍊 𗼇𗍊 𗼇𗍊 𗵘𗍊 𗼇𗍊 𗼇 𗵘𗼇𗴲𗍊𗵘
‹HEAVEN d.iu.rèn TWO ai nai MONTH:de l.û oŋ:on u.un ei.eu.*ji*, ý.e g.ui oŋ d.em.le.ge.er›
'In the first month of the second year of the Tiande 天德 reign period, when he was the prince of Lu 魯王, he was given the honorary title of prince of Yue'

4.41 Finite verbs and converbs in context

**𗵘 𗍊𗴲 𗹦𗦳 𗴲𗍊𗵘 𗏴𗐯 𗅁𗖵 𗵘𗴲 𗍊 𗼇𗼇𗍊𗵘 𗵘𗴲𗍊 𗍊 𗼇𗼇𗍊𗵘 𗼇𗼇𗍊 𗍊 𗼇𗼇𗍊𗵘 𗼇𗼇

court attendant in the right division 右院郎君 and *xiangwen* 詳穩. He was made general administrator of the border areas.'

4.42 Verbal nouns in vowel + [n]

Verbal nouns, which can also be used as adjectives, have the suffixes 出 ‹án› following stems with back vowels, 与 ‹én› following stems with front vowels, 肉 ‹ón› following stems with rounded vowels and 天 ‹ún› following stems ending in a consonant. 公 ‹n› and 伏 ‹ń› are also found.

伯与 尺 ‹BORN.ér DAY›
'birthday'

乞 巫 尺矢 伯与 ‹TEN EIGHT DAY.de BORN.ér›
'she who was born on the eighteenth day' (note: the suffix 与 ‹ér› indicates the subject is feminine)

乇 伯与 刘冬亏 寸条
‹ONE BORN.*én* hu.as.al GOOD FORTUNE›
'the disasters and good fortunes of life [what one is born into]'

又 夫行爻 反子业丰 力冬业出 亏 叔北尺药
‹GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, *na.as.ha.án* doro k.ii.û.ji›
'the great catalpa palace 梓宮 [the coffin of an emperor] having been closed, this was called the ceremony of laying to rest'

公卉矢 业八与 冈为木 业八与 今勺
‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.a.ar, RECORD.g.én te.gu›
'The incription on the tomb was composed. The inscription says:'

4.43 Verbal nouns in 骨伏 ‹bo.ń›

弟 穴有 劳化骨伏 药有 乂光化骨伏 尺 今久北 业用 刘匀 兆有 乂化 今金万
‹HUNDRED nai:en cu.ur.bo.ń ji:en x.ui.ri.bo.ń DAY t.uh.ii p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh:en i.ri t.em.ei›
'The hundred officials (officialdom) assembled (?). On the day they arrived... he was awarded the title of manager of affairs 平章事'

4.44 Verbal nouns and adjectives in 刘 ‹hu› 八 ‹gi› 北 ‹ho›

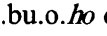
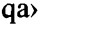
刘 ‹hu› follows back stems, 八 ‹gi› follows front stems, 北 ‹ho› follows stems with back rounded vowels.

久业木反子刘 尺 岁灭 今与卡 尔为出
‹da.ha.ar o.ju.*hu* DAY 292.u s.eu.kå on.a.án›
'on the day [the tomb, the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell'

掩閉日,甘露降

‹bo.qo:i bo.qo min se.bu.o.*ho* qa›

'his grandson, our succeeding khan …'

4.45 Copula:  ‹p.u› ~  ‹b.u› 'to be' (是)

‹ku.uŋ.iń tai.bo:en ne.ra p.u›

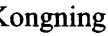
'This is the tomb of Kongning 孔寧 *taibao* 太保'

‹c.ur.er bo.qo s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u›

'He was the second son, his excellency 相公'

t.ód.u.ón aú.ui b.u›

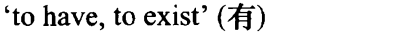
'She was the fifth royal lady 娘子'

4.46 Copula:  ‹ei› 'to have, to exist' (有)

‹mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.ó.qu x.ul.u.o.ón, bú:d na.ha.án:er:en ńi.qo tai sh:en bo.qo se.g.e ci.ŋ tzi:de u.ul.ge.én YOUNG.qú t.em.ei.én go:t ei:ie›

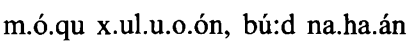
'There were two daughters; the eldest was *Hulun, who married the recipient of edicts 乘旨 *Sege, who was the son of the preceptor 太師 *Niqo of the external (Xiao) maternal uncles; the youngest, *Temen 特免 is still at home (i.e. has not yet married)'

s.iaŋ g.ün mó:t p.ar THREE THREE mo:t:en x.an ei.ie;

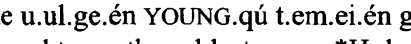


c.ur.er cu.uŋ.□ ss tu mo ku eu.uh.ńi.i t.iên.ún aú.ui p.úr.s ei.ie;

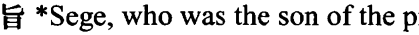
hu.ur.er pu.is.ên ss tu mo ku is.i 091 ji aú.ui



t.od.o.ho pu.ul.iń sȯ qa.an jau tau mo ku iên.ia.ai ńi.mú.qó.iń pu.is.iń p.úr.se ei.ie;



SIX.er qa.a hu.a xu.u b.u mo ku eu.uh.ńi.i ju.qu pu.is.ń p.úr.se iu;



da.ló.er s.a.am.iń d.i.ŋ g.e s.iaŋ g.uŋ mo ku na.ha.án.er:en ha.le pu.is.iń p.úr.se iu…

'His excellency 相公 had three wives and secondary wives 妻室. The three wives were all present the second (son), □ *situ* 司徒, his wife was *Eugni, royal lady 娘子 were present; the third □ *situ* 司徒, his wife lady *Isi, royal lady 娘子 the fifth son, *Fulunhan (?), bandit suppression commissioner 招討, his wife Mme. □, were present; the sixth son, *Haga, of the *hubu* 戶部, his wife Mme. *Eugni *Jugu (?) was not present (no longer living); the seventh, his excellency 相公 *Sami *Dinge, his wife, lady *Hale [of the lineage of] the maternal uncles 國舅, was not present (no longer living)…'

4.47 The copula: 丙 ‹iú› 'not to exist, to die (無)'

永化当 米斗业为出 尔火 力业灭 今生业斗 今将 几亦矢 及平本万 与交 𠂉 不禾矢 丙 会当 尔火 与交 丁 毛矢 交及 为本及 扎矢 丙

‹c.úr.er ORDO.le.ha.a.án aú.ui na.ha.an se.bu.ha.ai s.aŋ g.ün:de u.ul.ge.ei eu.ur THIRTY xa.is:de *iu*. hur.én aú.ui eu.ur TWENTY FOUR:de ur.u a.ar.ún ho:de *iu*›.

'The second, *Otelan, royal lady, married general *Sabali of the lineage of the maternal uncles. At the age of 30, she died. The third royal lady, aged twenty four ---- died.'

今会当 尔火 寸 与火 公及禾爻 乃为六矢 只平本万 与交 丁 禾矢 丙
今分斗业为本 丙 寸 与火 只分 斗利 几太 乃关 门 几寸乃矢 只平本万 与交 𠂉 今化 丙

‹t.em.én aú.ui ia deu:un n.o.or:er ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.ur TWENTY NINE *iu*. ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar mo ia deu:úr û.dû ai:en g.uŋ ś.i du g.ia.am:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr THIRTY FOUR.ur *iu*›

'*Temen 特免, royal lady 娘子, was married to *No'or, court attendant 郎君 of the lineage of the elder younger brothers. She died at the age of twenty nine. Madame *Otela was married to *Udu (?) of the lineage of the *zhongfufang* 仲父房, who had the title of *gong shi du jian* 宫使都監. She died at the age of thirty four'

丙 将勿 毛 今卡乂当 尔火 川欠 力业灭 支生余 乃为六矢 只平本万 与交 乞 巫矢 永本 丙

‹mo bo.qo ONE pu.kả.x.én aú.ui zò.qo na.ha.an dzi.bu.gu ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.ur TEN EIGHT:de c.ar *iu*›

'There was one daughter, the royal lady *Pu…, who married *Jibugu, court attendant, of the lineage of the younger maternal uncles. She died some time ago, at the age of eighteen'

又及 今丙刃伏 乃匀 今 今当 𠂇 圣为 将勿 毛 寸禾伏 勇 戈 斗用 几太 今生万本 业交今 丙 永化本 伏行欠伏 王本[幸]雨 几亦 𠂇 列灭及 业交今 丙

‹m.o t.iu.rén.iń ś.áŋ pu s.úŋ oŋ car.a bo.qo ONE♂ qudug.iń jau tau l.iŋ g.uŋ te.bu.ei.er p.úr.s iu. c.ur.ér ńi.mú.qó.ń di.î.in g.ün oŋ hu.an.u p.úr.se *iu*›
'The eldest was *Diuren (Jiulin 糺林), *shangfu* 尚父, prince of 宋 Song [whose childhood name was] *Chara 查剌. One son, *Hudugin 胡睹堇, bandit suppression commissioner 招討, lord 令公, *Tabuye 撻不也... died. The second, Nimugun 涅睹衮 *tiyin* 惕隱 (?) *junwang* 郡王, had died'

丰奕 丁 圣矣 口 伞金北爻 丙

‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de THAT s.em.ii.er *iu*›
'At the age of twenty-two, she fell ill and died'

4.48 The copula **为** ‹a›

为 ‹a›, often seen with the converb suffix **丰** ‹ai›, also seems to be a copula: 'being'

4.49 Supplement: Reign titles

All of the Kitan reign titles begin with **父** 'heaven' or **又** 'great. Many appear to be verbal forms:

(1)	Tonghe	983	統和	government unity	**父 伞生反扎**
(2)	Kaitai	1012	開泰	open prosperity	**父 伏仆只爻**
(3)	Taiping	1021	太平	great peace	**又 丙交乍永**
(4)	Jingfu	1031	景福	bright happiness	
(5)	Chongxi	1032	重熙	repeated splendour	**父 来仆圭丰**
					父 伞分仆圭为丰
(6)	Qingning	1055	清寧	clear tranquility	**父 冬丰**
(7)	Xianyong	1065	咸雍	together harmony	**父 令火**
(8)	Dakang	1075	大康	great prosperity	**又 令丙刃**
(9)	Da'an	1085	大安	great peace Da'an	**又 伞分廾反南**
					又 来廾反雨
(10)	Shouchang	1095	壽昌	longevity prosperity	**又 伞和**
(11)	Qiantong	1101	乾統	celestial government	**父 丰廾反扎**
(12)	Tianqing	1111	天慶	heaven blessings	**父 令卡仆爻爻**
(13)	Tianfu	1118	天輔	heaven assistance	**又 九爻当**
(14)	Tianhui	1123	天會	heaven meeting	**父 坐丙爻**
					父 令丙爻
(15)	Tianjuan	1138	天眷	heaven favour	**父 令金万爻**
					父 坐金万爻
(16)	Huangtong	1141	皇統	august government	**令业 国仆骨伏**

(17)	Tiande	1149	天德	heaven virtue	𘍽 𘐀𘐓刃
(18)	Dading	1161	大定	great settlement	𘍽 𘑿𘐀乃

4.50 Notes on Liao reign titles

(1) Tonghe (983) 統和 'United Peace' 𘍽 𘑿生反礼 ‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho›. 𘑿生反礼 means 'inherit, succeed, follow'

(2) Kaitai (1012) 開泰 'Open Prosperity': 𘍽 伏𘐓只𘐔 ‹HEAVEN ńi.l.û.er›. The last two graphs in 伏𘐓只𘐔 are clear, but the first two are damaged. The left side of 伏 is visible, as is the upper part of 𘐓 .The meaning of 伏𘐓只𘐔 ‹ńi.l.û.er› is unknown.

(3) Taiping (1021) 太平 'Great Peace': 𘍽 万𘐀𘑿友 ‹GREAT ei.ie.ra.u›.

(4) Jingfu. Not identified.

(5) Chongxi (1032) 重熙 'Repeated Splendour': 𘍽 𘑿分𘐓𘐀力𘑿 ‹HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.ar›. Also written 𘑿分𘐓𘐀力𘑿 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, 𘍽 米𘐓𘐀𘑿 ‹HEAVEN ordu.le.ha.ar› and 米𘐓𘐀𘑿 ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. The meaning of 𘑿分𘐓𘐀力𘑿 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar› is not known. It may be connected with the word 𘑿分廾反肉 ‹û.dû.ó.o.ón›, which appears in the Kitan equivalent of the reign title Da'an, and so might mean 'peace' ‹ú.dû.le.ha.ar› might be related to the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 窩篤盌 **o-du-on* 'nourishing (滋息)' 息 by itself means 'peace, rest' So the verbal noun form would be 'nourishment' (perhaps 'peace, rest'). 𘑿分𘐓𘐀力𘑿 丁 包 乞 圣 艾 𘐀 𘐔矢 伯𘐔
‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.al TWENTY THREE, TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY.de BORN.er›
'He was born of the sixth day of the twelfth month of the twenty third year of the Chongxi period'.(Hong 6)

(6) Qingning (1055) 清寧 'Clear Tranquility': 𘍽 𘐔𘑿 ‹HEAVEN as.ar›. 𘐔𘑿 is found in Xuanyi, where the expression 地清 *di qing* 'the earth is clear' is translated 𘐀夯 𘐔𘑿 ‹neu.e as.ar›. 𘐀夯 neu.e means 'earth', so 𘐔𘑿 ‹as.ar› must mean 'clear'
𘐔𘑿 圣 𘑿 友平 𘐓𘐔 𘐀𘐀东 友奕𘐓𘐔万 𘑿𘐔𘐔𘑿 𘐀币 𘐀𘐀𘐔 𘐀𘐔𘑿 𘑿𘐔𘑿 𘐀刘出𘐔 𘐔化𘑿 𘑿𘐀𘐓九 𘑿𘐀𘐔
‹as.ar TWO ai u.ul go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei c.i.is:en oŋ:od mo.ha.as nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri.se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d›
'In the second year of the Qingning period, in winter, the khan having gathered in the tents, the children of his blood relations, the princes and the

great officials, were granted official titles' The meaning of 𗼇𗴲𗴺 ‹se.ra.d› is unknown. (Nu 7-8)

(7) Xianyong (1065) 咸雍 'Together Harmony': 𗥃 𗼇𗤁 ‹HEAVEN t.ud›. 𗼇𗤁 ‹t.ud› is common in the texts. It may mean 'harmony'

𗥃 𗼇𗤁 𗈪𗗙 𗼇𗴲𗴺 𗏁𗍫 𗖵𗏵 𗴺𗗙 𗲟 𗫂𗗙𗴺 𗅋𗐯 𗧓 𗈪𗗙𗴺𗿼𗴺 𗼇 𗈪𗗙𗴺 𗿼 𗏁𗫂𗄊 𗍖𗹦𗄊

‹HEAVEN t.ud yủ.úr ai:s:er ja.aŋ m.in d.un mu ei.ie.en x.iŋ THREE g.iú.uŋ.ur:en fú g.iú.uŋ sh rẻn.ei.ii p.o.or›

'In the first years of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander 副宮使 of the Zhangmin 彰愍, Dunmu 敦睦 and Yanqing 延慶 palaces' (Nu 12-14)

(8) Dakang (1075) 大康 'Great Prosperity': 𗖵 𗼇𗫂𗏁 ‹GREAT t.iu.rẻn›. 𗼇𗫂𗏁 ‹t.iu.rẻn›, also written 𗍖𗫂𗏁 ‹d.iu.rẻn›, means 'virtue'

𗴲𗅋 𗈪𗫂𗐱𗗚 𗍖 𗈪𗅋𗖵 𗹦𗏣𗅋 𗹦𗏣 𗖵 𗼇𗫂𗏁 𗂧 𗲟 𗏵 𗑠 𗥤 𗍖𗴲 𗰗𗐱 (Gu 6-7)

‹aú.ui ś.ie.ên.iń tai ś.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rẻn SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én› (note feminine form in 𗐱 ‹én›)

'Her highness, grandchild of *Shanning *taishi,* was born on the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the seventh year of the Dakang reign period'

(9) Da'an (1085) 大安 'Great Peace' 𗖵 𗼇𗍫𗹦𗅋𗖵 ‹GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón›. Perhaps 𗼇𗍫𗹦𗅋𗖵 ‹ú.dû.ó.o.ón› means 'peace'. See (2) above.

𗖵 𗼇𗍫𗹦𗅋𗖵 𗑠 𗼇𗐯𗥤 𗐱𗏣 𗴲 𗑠 𗲟 𗏵 𗑠 𗲟 𗥤 𗫂𗗙 𗍫𗏣 𗼇𗴲 𗴺𗴲

‹GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón TEN s.iau.qú ńi.qo YEAR [ai] TEN ONE MONTH TEN FIVE [tau] DAY m.as.qu bo.qo s.en ci:er›

'On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the tenth year, the year of the blue dog 甲戌 of the Da'an 大安 reign period, the eldest son Yixin wrote this' (Zhixian)

(10) Shouchang (1095) 壽昌 'Longevity Prosperity': 𗖵 𗼇𗴲 ‹GREAT s.en›. 𗼇𗴲 ‹s.en› means 'longevity' The common personal name 義新 Yixin (also written 阿信 Axin) is written 𗼇𗴲 ‹s.en›; the common "second name" Yixining is written 𗼇𗴲𗐱 ‹s.en.iń›. This suggests a prothetic [i] preceding ‹s.en›.

𗖵 𗼇𗴲 𗲟 𗴲 𗑠 𗏵 𗏣 𗥤 𗈪𗗙 𗥃𗈪𗥤 𗈪𗗙𗴺 𗼇𗍫𗂧𗴺

GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR ‹ai› TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY:de eu.úr FORTY NINE♂:de s.em.ii.er›

'On the eighth day of the tenth month of the Shouchang period, at the age of 45, he contracted a fatal illness 病故'.

(11) Qiantong (1101) 乾統 'Celestial Government': 𘍽 𘍿𘊴𘍽𘊰 ‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho›. One of the meanings of 乾 *qian* is 'heaven', as in 乾坤 *qian kun* 'heaven and earth' The meaning of 𘍿𘊴𘍽𘊰 ‹ar.u.o.ho›, also written 𘍿𘊵𘍽𘊰 ‹ar.ú.o.ho›, is not known. It is possibly connected with the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 阿魯盌 **alu'on* 'support, assist' 統 means 'to gather into one, to unite'

𘍽 𘍿𘊴𘍽𘊰 𘊰𘍽𘍽 𘍿 𘍽 𘍽 𘍿 𘍽 𘍽 𘍿 𘍽

(17) Tiande (1149) 天德 'heaven virtue': 𘍿 𘍿𘍿𘍿 ‹HEAVEN d.iu.rėn›. 𘍿𘍿𘍿means 德 *de* 'virtue' 𘍿 𘍿𘍿𘍿 is a literal translation of 天德.

(18) Dading (1161) 大定 'great settlement': 𘍿 𘍿𘍿𘍿 ‹GREAT doro.ha.am›. 𘍿 corresponds to 禮 *li* 'ceremony, rites, seal'

4.51 Some comments on the word for Kitan

There is a voluminous literature on the origins and meanings of the dynastic names Liao and Jin. Liao is said to be named after the Liao River. Jin means gold, named after the Anchuhu river, **alčun* being the Jurchen word for 'gold' However, the matter is not so simple, as can be seen from Chan 1991 and Liu Pujiang 2001. Here we can just add a few comments based on the Kitan script.

The Liao changed their dynastic title four times. From 907 to 938 they called themselves, in Chinese at least, the Great Kitan State. After 938, following the incorporation of the Chinese speaking "sixteen counties", they changed their name to the Great Liao State. Then in 983, they changed back to Great Kitan State. In 1066 they changed back to Great Liao State, which remained until the fall of the dynasty. For about a total of one hundred years the dynasty was called Kitan, for about one hundred years the dynasty was called Liao. The reasons for this no doubt have their political basis, and need not concern us here.

Liu Fengzhu 2006 compared the titles of the published Chinese inscriptions from the Liao. Sure enough, during the period the "transmitted texts" (the *Liaoshi* and the *Qidanguo zhi*) say the state was called Kitan, the Chinese inscriptions start 大契丹 Da Qidan. When the sources say the state was called Liao, the Chinese inscriptions start 大遼 Da Liao.

Turning to the Kitan inscriptions, Liu made an interesting discovery. When the state was called Kitan the inscriptions start 𘍿 𘍿𘍿𘍿 𘍿𘍿 ‹GREAT qid.ún hu.rå›. When the state was called Liao the inscriptions start 𘍿 𘍿𘍿𘍿 𘍿𘍿 ‹GREAT hu.rå qid.ún›.

The same applied with the large script. In the periods when the term Great Kitan was used, for example in the *Epitaph of the princess of Yongning prefecture*, the title is 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿. The first graph 𘍿 is «GREAT» (small script 𘍿), the last graph, 𘍿 is «STATE». 𘍿 𘍿 corresponds to 中央 *zhongyang* 'central' (𘍿𘍿𘍿 ‹t.iau.dû›), 𘍿 𘍿 to 'Kitan' and 𘍿 𘍿 to 'Liao' (𘍿𘍿𘍿 ‹xu.rå›), that is Kitan Liao State. In the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong,* written after 1066, when the state was called Liao, we find the sequence 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿, that is, Liao Kitan State. The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Xinie* are simply 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 𘍿 'Central Kitan State'. 𘍿 𘍿 and

𐲈 𐲉 are apparently variants. On the translation 𐲊𐲋 / 𐲌𐲍𐲎 ‹t.iau.dû› as 'central', see below.

There are also other elements, discussed below. Liu came to the conclusion that the problematic 𐲏𐲐 was in fact the Kitan word for Liao. The two reign titles could be translated Great Kitan Liao when the Chinese inscriptions refer the the Great Kitan, and Great Liao Kitan when the Chinese inscriptions refer to the Great Liao.

In the small script, Kitan is written 𐲑𐲒 ‹qid.ún›. Variants are 𐲑𐲒𐲓 ‹qid.ún.i› and 𐲑𐲓 ‹qid.i›, presumably genitives. 𐲑 2.365 is apparently a combination of 𐲔 'great' and 𐲕 'heaven', which are perhaps derived from 大 'great' and 天 'sky, heaven'. 𐲔 or 𐲕 was used in all the Liao reign titles.

The sequence 𐲔 𐲖𐲗𐲒 𐲏𐲐 𐲑𐲒𐲓 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i› appears on the canopy of the Daozong inscription. The first graph 𐲔 means 'great' The second word, 𐲖𐲗𐲒 appears on the Langjun inscription in the expression 𐲖𐲗𐲒 𐲘𐲙 ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› 'mid-winter', so 𐲖𐲗𐲒 ‹dau.úr.ún› seems to mean 'middle, central' Luo Fucheng suggested that 𐲏𐲐 might mean 'country' There are four theories as to what 𐲏𐲐 might be: **hulus* 'state', **hala* ~ **kara* 'black', **hus* 'strong, strength' and the actual Kitan word for Liao. **hulus* is unlikely: there was no initial [h] in MMo. in this word. **hala* ~ **kara* 'black' is unlikely: there is no evidence in Liao Chinese inscriptions for any such usage. Liu Fengzhu 2006 suggests that Liao might not refer to the Liao river at all, but rather to the basic sense of the character, as in 遼闊 *liaokuo* 'broad, wide' Liu goes on to point out that the Western Liao did not refer to themselves as 西遼 Xi Liao: this was a Chinese term for them. In Yuan sources, they are called 和剌乞答 **hola kida.* The Karakitai regarded themselves as the continuation of the legitimate dynasty "in exile", and used the name in use at the time of the destruction of their state in the east, Liao Kitan. The word **hola/*hora/*hura* was misinterpreted by Mongol and Turkic speakers as *qara* 'black' We still do not know what it actually meant. Perhaps it was the Kitan name for the Liao river. Perhaps it does mean 'black', if the Kitans called the Liao river the "black river" Biran 2005:216 has pointed out that the term Karakitai does not appear in Muslim sources before the Mongol invasion of 1218-1220. Biran has also pointed out the problems associated with identifying the term 哈喇 **hala* with Mongol *qara* 'black' She suggests it is more likely a prestigious term, the original meaning of which had been forgotten, at least in Central Asia.

The Jurchens referred to the previous dynasty as 'Kitan', not Liao. In the Jurchen Victory stele of 1185, the Chinese expression 遼季失道, 腥聞于天 *Liao ji shi dao, xing wen yu tian* 'The Liao lost the Way, the stink was smelled by Heaven' corresponds to Ju. 𑙐𑙓 𑙔 𑙕𑙖 𑙗𑙘 𑙙𑙚 𑙛𑙜𑙝 𑙞𑙟 𑙠𑙡𑙢 𑙣𑙤 ‹hi.tan GEN □ ACC jugu BURU.we a TA EHE ACC HEAVEN HEAR

SUFF› 'In the time of the Kitans the Way was lost; its evil was heard by Heaven' We can see a similar phenomenon in the Kitan sources. The *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong* was written during the Jin. In the inscription we read 𐲀𐲋𐲍 𐲎 𐲏𐲁𐲋 𐲌 𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖 𐲗 𐲘 𐲙𐲚 𐲛 𐲜 𐲝 𐲞 𐲟 𐲠𐲡 ‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón (peace) SIX WHITE HORSE YEAR FIVE MONTH THREE DAY LOC BORN:er› 'the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, *gengwu,* in the Kitan reign period Da'an' Clearly the Jin referred to the previous dynasty as "the Kitan state", not "the Liao dynasty"

𐲢 is certainly ‹xu›, as shown in 𐲣𐲤𐲥 𐲢 𐲦 𐲧𐲨 𐲩𐲪 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün› 龍虎衛將軍 **liunghuwei zianggün* 'general of the dragon tiger guard' 𐲫 177 remains unknown. The presumption that 𐲢𐲫 is related to Mo. *qara* 'black' led to the suggestion **la/ra.* The presumption that it is related to proto-Mongol **hulus* led to the suggested reading **lus.* 𐲫 is found in the second line of the Jin dynasty *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong.* In Chinese sources, Xiao Zhonggong's name is given as 术(朮)里者 **julizhe.* His name in Kitan is given in line 2: 𐲬𐲫𐲭 ‹ju.[ ].e›. (Ji Shi 1996:467). This leads to the suggestion that 𐲫 is read something like **lij.* This is the origin of the suggested reading **ris* (Aisin Gioro). For the present purposes I have adopted the transcription ‹rå›, more or less on the grounds that Kitan **hura qida/i* could have been interpreted as **hola kida* in the Yuan sources and **qara qita/i* in the Central Asian sources. The differences between **qid, *qida, *qidan, *qidai, *qidun, *qiduni* and so on are also not known, or the reasons for transcriptions such as Marco Polo's *Catai,* with [a] in the first syllable. For a discussion on the various forms of Kitai/Kitan, see Sinor 1997. The back *ï* after the back *q* in the word ‹qid.ún› may account for the varying transcriptions. A back *ï* could have been interpreted as [ɐ] or [æ], by speakers of languages which did not have this phoneme.

The other elements in the titles on the Kitan inscriptions are also not very clear. The Daozong inscription starts 𐲀 𐲁𐲂𐲃 𐲢𐲫 𐲄𐲃𐲅 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i›, with the word 𐲁𐲂𐲃 before 𐲢𐲫 'Liao' This word is generally taken to mean 'central', as it occurs in the Langjun inscription in the sense of 'middle' (mid-winter), and is regularly translated 中央 *zhongyang* by Chinese researchers. In other inscriptions, such as the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie, the title of the state is 𐲀 𐲆𐲇𐲈 𐲢𐲫 𐲄𐲅 𐲉𐲊𐲋 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i g.úr:en› 'Great Central Liao Kitan State (genitive). In the *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao*, the title is 𐲀 𐲆𐲇𐲈 𐲄𐲅 𐲢𐲫 𐲉𐲊𐲋 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.rå gúr:en› 'Great Central Kitan Liao State (genitive)' 𐲆𐲇𐲈 ‹t.iau.dû› replaces 𐲁𐲂𐲃 ‹dau.úr.ún›. 𐲆𐲇𐲈 ‹t.iau.dû› is also regularly glossed 中央 *zhongyang*, but it is not known what 𐲆𐲇𐲈 ‹t.iau.dû› means, or why it was used instead of 𐲁𐲂𐲃 ‹dau.úr.ún› in certain inscriptions.

The form of words at the beginning of a number of inscriptions is given below. They all have a genitive suffix:

Daozong:	又 尺夾叉 兆刻 矢叉火
	‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i›
Yelü Dilie:	又 今考分 兆刻 矢火 八夾和
	‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Nu:	又 兆刻 矢火 八夾和
	‹GREAT xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Zhixian:	又 今考分 兆刻 矢火 八夾和
	‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Zongjiao:	又 今考分 矢火 兆刻 八夾和
	‹GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.rå gúr.en›

4.52 Some comments on the word for Jurchen

Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that in the Langjun inscription, 又 山 八夾和 ‹GREAT 山 g.úr.en› corresponds to 大金國之 'of the great Jin state' 山 clearly means 金 *jin*. In the Bozhou inscription, a Jin period inscription in Kitan, there is a blank space in front of 公火勺 八夾和 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:en› and 公火勺 八夾矢 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:de›. The second word means 'country, state 國' Seeing this is a Jin inscription the only word 公火勺 could only refer to the Jin 金. We know that 大金 Da Jin is 又 山. So 公火勺 ‹n.i.gu› must be the Kitan word for Jurchen. Pelliot 1959:216-229 notes that the word *Nüzhen* in Chinese does not appear before the Liao, and it probably derives from the Kitan word for the Jurchens. The Jurchen name for their state was *alčun* 'gold' Jurchen *alčun*, Chinese 金 and Kitan 公火勺 ‹n.i.gu› all mean 'gold' The Kitan word for 'gold' is given in the *Liaoshi* as 女古 **nügu*, which must be the Chinese transcription of 公火勺 ‹n.i.gu› 'gold' So it seems that 公火勺 is 金 *jin*, Ju. *alčun* 'gold' read **nigü*, and is the Kitan word for both 'gold' and 'Jurchen'

The *Qidanguo zhi* notes: 地有二水 曰裊羅個沒里, 復名女古沒里者, 又其一也 "there are two rivers... one called *niao-luo-ge-mo-li*, the other called the *nü-gu-mo-li*. In fact they are the same" The *niao-luo-ge* was the Kitan name for the river known in Chinese as the Huang river 潢河. So *niao-luo-ge* must mean 'yellow' (潢 = 黃). Liu Fengzhu 1983 thinks both 裊羅個 *niao-luo-ge* and 女古 *nü-gu* mean 'yellow' In the *Liaoshi* glossary, we read: 金曰女古: "金 *jin* 'metal' or 'gold' is called *nügu*" The river is now called the 西喇木倫 Xilamulun, Mo. *Sila mören* 'yellow river' In pre-Tang times, it was called 饒樂水 the Raoleshui river, 弱樂水 the Ruole river and the 如洛瑰水 the Ruluogui river. After the Tang it was called 裊羅個木里 *niao-*

luo-ge-mo-li, 女古木里 *nü-gu-mo-li.* These are different transcriptions of the same name. The first syllable should be something like **nyu*. The second syllable should be **lak* or **lo*, and the third syllable should be something like **gu* or **gui*. It is difficult to account for the *r/l implied by the earlier inscriptions, and for the -r- in forms like *Jürčid,* unless we presume a form like**nirugu* and a reading like **urgu* for 勹 .

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KITAN LARGE SCRIPT

> Shence, fifth year: spring, first month, *yichou* day: work began on the creation of the Kitan large script. Ninth month, *renyin* day: the large script was completed. It was implemented by imperial edict. - *History of the Liao Dynasty, Annals of Taizu.*

> By the reign of Abaoji, several smaller neighbouring states had been subdued and annexed. He employed many Chinese, who taught them how to write by altering characters in the clerical script, adding here and cutting there. They created a script of several thousand characters, replacing the contracts made by making notches on wood. - *New History of the Five Dynasties. Appendix on the Four Barbarians.*

5.1 The nature of the Kitan large script

Almost all research on Kitan has been done on the texts in the small script. The Kitan large script has been even more impenetrable. The underlying language is the same, and the general contents of the inscriptions are the same. Progress in reading inscriptions in the small script, and recent archaeological discoveries, have provided certain insights into the large script. The large script is often said to be "logographic", but it appears to be much the same mixture of logographs and phonograms as the small script. The major difference is that the large script has a separate graph for every syllable in the language, whereas the small script analyses the syllables into two parts. So the graph 国, derived from 國 *guo* (also written 国), represents the Kitan syllable **gur* 'country, state' This is written with two separate graphs in the small script: 丸夾. Similarly, 太 «ceu» in the large script is written 刺与 ‹c.eu› in the small; 奥 «gon» in the large script is written 丸ふ ‹g.on› in the small. 午 «iri» 'name' in the large script is written 关仇 ‹i.ri› in the small. Some graphs in the large script are similar to small script graphs, but have different meanings or readings. 午 «iri» 'name' in the large script resembles 午 (of unidentified sound and meaning) in the small; 夾 «pu» (perhaps [fu]) looks like the small script 夾 ‹ur›. 冬 «u'ul» 'winter' is clearly from Chinese 冬 'winter', and is written in the small script with two symbols: 及平 ‹u.ul›. However, **u'ul* also meant 'to marry [of a woman]', and this word is also written with the large graph 冬. **namur* 'autumn' is written 东 in the large script (derived from

Chinese 秋'autumn'), and can be considered a logograph: the corresponding form in the small script was written with phonetic graphs: 公乃夾 ‹n.am.úr›. Some of the large graphs were used in the Jurchen script: 夫 «lu» 'dragon' and Jurchen 岌竿 *mudur* 'id.'; 永 'year' and Jurchen 疗 *aniya* 'year' Both 'father' and 'year' are written 永 in the large script, as both are written 丰 in the small. It is probable that there are more logographs in the large script than the small. The inspiration for the more analytical nature of the small script may have come from Uighur "technologists of writing", or from the Chinese rhyme tables.

5.2 Sources

According to *Liaoshi* 64, the large script was invented in 920 and the small script in 924 or 925. The earliest extant text in the large script is the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning* 耶律延寧墓誌, dated 987. The inscriptions discovered so far are:

(1) Jing'ansi 靜安寺. The *Jing'an Temple Stele* 靜安寺碑 (1072). This stele has an inscription in Chinese on one side, and a damaged inscription in the Kitan large script on the other. The Chinese text was published in 1881, and edited in Yamashita 1935. Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949:243 noted, "No illumination can be gained from an inscription, *Ching-an Ssŭ Pei,* which seems to be composed in Ch'i-tan... The symbols used are simpler than those found in the Liao imperial mausoleums, but the epigraph as a whole is too seriously damaged to admit of any definite conclusions" Those comments are still valid.

(2) Gutaishi 故太師. The *Gu Taishi Inscription* 故太師銘石記 (1056). This was discovered in an antique shop in Shenyang (Inaba 1939).

(3) Xigushan 西孤山. The *Xigushan Inscription,* also known as the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong* 蕭孝忠墓誌 (1090). Liu Qian 1956; Yan Wanzhang 1957.

(4) Paolu 袍魯. *Xiao Paolu muzhiming* 蕭袍魯墓誌. *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu.* Feng Yongqian 1983; Feng Yongqian 1988; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(5) Beidawang 北大王. *Beidawang muzhi* 北大王墓誌 *Epitaph of the Great Prince of the North* (1041). Ma Junshan, Liu Fengzhu 1983; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(6) Yanning 延寧. *Yelü Yanning muzhi* 耶律延寧墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning.* Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(7) Xinie 習涅. *Yelü Xinie muzhi* 耶律習涅墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie.* 37 lines, 1608 characters. Jin Yongtian 1991.

(8) Yongning 永寧. *Yongningjun gongzhu muzhi* 永寧郡公主墓誌 *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture.* 36 lines, 1486 characters, of which 7 are illegible. Liu Fengzhu, 2003.

(9) Qi 祺. *Yelü Qi muzhi* 耶律祺墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Qi.* 46 lines, 2845 characters, plus 88 illegible ones. Liu Fengzhu 2006.

(10) Duoluoliben 多羅里本. *Duoluoliben langjun muzhiming* 多羅里本郎君墓誌銘 *Epitaph of *Duoluoliben.* Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu, Chu Jianxue, 2005.

(11) Changyun 昌允. *Yelü Changyun muzhiming* 耶律昌允墓誌銘 *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun.* Liu Fengzhu 2004.

(12) Tianchao 天朝. The *Tianchao wanxun* 天朝萬順 coin. Wang Qing and Liu Fengzhu 1981.

(13) Yingli 應曆. The *Yingli Stele* 應曆碑. A rubbing of this inscription was found by Jia Jingyan in a Beijing antiquarian bookshop. The location and origin of the original inscription is unknown. The text was published in 1998. This stele was thought to date from the Yingli reign period (951-969), but is now considered to date from the Dading reign period of the Jin (1161-1190). Liu Fengzhu 1998.

5.3 Early research (until 2000)

The *Liaoshi* clearly states that the Kitans had two scripts. The first, the large script, was created on the basis of the Chinese "clerical script" with some modifications. The other, the small script, was said to have been invented in 926, and was created after contact with Uighurs. Both scripts were used throughout the Liao, and well into the Jin, but both were lost by the early Yuan. The only examples in Chinese sources were five characters recorded by the Song ambassador Wang Yi 王易 in his 燕北錄 *Yanbei lu* [A record of the lands north of Yan]. These were said to correspond to Chinese 朕 *zhen*, 敕 *zhi*, 走 *zou*, 馬 *ma* and 急 *ji*, and were later reproduced in the Yuan

compilation on the history of scripts, the *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀.

After the discovery of the Liao tombs at Qingling, and the identification of the script as being identical with the Langjun inscription in Xi'an, there was a certain amount of discussion as to whether this was the large script or the small script, but there was no evidence one way or the other. In 1939, an inscription was discovered in an antique shop by Inaba Iwakichi. Inaba realised that the script was Kitan, but not of the type found in the Qingling inscriptions, nor was it Jurchen. Li Wenxin 1942 published photographs of the inscription, but they were very unclear. Li argued that the inscription was a forgery, made up of regular Chinese characters, distorted characters, and some Jurchen characters. In 1951, however, an inscription in a similar script was discovered at Xigushan. This is known as the *Gu taishi inscription*, also called the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong*. The back of the canopy had a twelve line inscription in Chinese, of which the first two characters in the date are 大安 Da'an, a Liao reign title (1085-1095).

Earlier photographs of the *Jing'an Temple Stele* and the *Gu taishi inscription* were very unclear. The numerals and some other words appeared to be the same as Chinese, as noted in Li Wenxin 1942. The graph for 'year' 𘍽 was the same as the Jurchen 𘍽 'year'; 日 'day', 月 'month' and 太后 'empress dowager' were the same as Chinese. Through comparing the dates in the Chinese and Kitan inscriptions, Yan Wanzhang 1957 identified 𘍽 as 'year of the horse' and 𘍽 as 'year of the wood dragon' Toyoda 1963 identified the graphs 冬 'winter' (冬), 𘍽 'first year', 𘍽 'monkey' and 𘍽 'chicken' He also determined that 𘍽 must be a numeral, but it was not clear which one. Liu 1982 suggested that 𘍽 must be 大康 Dakang 'reign title' In retrospect, we can see that because the inscriptions were so few, the rubbings so unclear and the script so unfamiliar, the findings of that time have generally been superseded.

Ma and Liu 1983 finally identified the date on the Xigushan inscription 𘍽 as 重熙十蛇年十五木馬日 *chongxi shi she nian shiwu mu ma ri* 'the wood horse day, the fifteenth day of the second month of the tenth year of the [Heaven] Chongxi period' This article also concluded that "apart from non-phonetic graphs, there are also phonetic graphs in the Kitan large script" This was an important conceptual breakthrough: the general consensus had been that the large script was logographic.

A new inscription in the Kitan large script, the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning*, was discovered in 1980. Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin, 1984 proposed that the Kitan graphs 𘍽 in this inscription correspond to the Chinese title 金五大將軍 *Jinwu da jiang jun* 'senior general of the imperial insignia guard'. Toyoda 1984 identified 𘍽 'chicken', 𘍽 'snake', 𘍽 'rat' and 𘍽 'six'.

The *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu* was discovered in 1956, but not published until Yan Wanzhang 1988. Yan identified 𘍿 as 'six' and 𘍾 as 'nine'

Jin Yongtian 1991 proposed that 道 𘍽 皇帝 in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* must correspond to 道宗皇帝 *Daozong huangdi.* Ruan Tingzhuo 1992 identified 光 𘍼 as 'composed by, 撰', found at the end of inscriptions. Liu Fengzhu 1993 started from the decipherment of the large graph 𘍻 (also written 𘍺) as 歲 *sui* 'year of age', and identified 𘍹 'thirty', 𘍸 'forty', 𘍷 'sixty' and 𘍶 'seventy' He also identified 𘍵 'seven' The article also pointed out that the graphs for 'twenty', 'thirty' and so on were not basic numerals combined with the word for 'ten', as in the small script, but independent graphs. It also identified 𘍴 𘍳 𘍲 𘍱 as the reign title 乾統 Qiantong.

Toyoda 1995 identified 太 𘍰 '*taishi* 太師', 太 𘍯 '*taiwei* 太尉' and 太 𘍮 '*taibao* 太保' Liu Fengzhu 1996 identified 𘍬 *zhou* 'prefecture 州' and the title 𘍫 𘍪 𘍩 𘍨 𘍧 𘍦 𘍥 𘍯 as 金紫崇祿大夫檢校太尉 *Jinzi chonglu daifu jianjiao taiwei.* He also identifed 𘍤 'enfeoff 封'; 𘍣 'name, title', 𘍢 'grandfather', 𘍡 'father' and 𘍠 'wife' Liu 1998 is a report on the progress made in the decipherment of the Kitan large script at a conference in Kyoto. He listed all the large graphs which could be determined at that stage. As he was to say later, these barely covered two pages.

5.4 Recent research (since 2000)

The situation was to change with the discovery in 2000 of the *Epitaph of Xiao Xingyan*, in Chinese, and that of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, in the Kitan large script. There is a certain amount of information common to both inscriptions, which has provided a key to deciphering many more large Kitan graphs. In addition, both were relatives of the Shengzong emperor, and some information on them is available in the *Liaoshi.* The following account of the decipherment is based on Liu Fengzhu and Tang Cailan 2003.

From the Chinese epitaph of Xiao Xingyan, we learn that his grandfather was 烏咽里 Wuyanli, who had the title 駙馬大王 *fuma dawang* 'great prince imperial son-in-law', and the official position of 招討使'punitive officer' He had two wives, 賽哥公主 princess Saige and 鉢國娘子 royal lady Boguo. According to *Liaoshi* 65, the thirteenth daughter of Shengzong was named Saige. Her title was 金鄉郡主 mistress of Jinxiang prefecture, and she was later elevated to the title of princess 公主. She married Xiao Tuyu 蕭圖玉. Xiao Tuyu is mentioned in *Liaoshi* 93. He was also called 兀衍 Wuyan, and he was the son of 海璋 Haili, the prime minister of the northern chancellery. In the year Tonghe 19 (1002), he married the princess

of Jinxiang, and was appointed 駙馬都尉 'commandant escort [emperor's son-in-law]' So Xingyan's grandfather had three names: Wuyanli, Wuyan and Xiao Tuyu.

Xingyan himself had three wives. The first was the mistress of Yongning prefecture 永寧郡主, the daughter of the prince of Sanhan 三韓大王 and the consort of the state of Han 韓國妃. The *Liaoshi* refers to 合魯 Helu of 三韓郡 Sanhan prefecture. Helu was a nephew of Shengzong and the father in law of Xingyan. There is a short passage about Xingyan in his grandfather's biography in the *Liaoshi*. He died in Da'an 3 (1088) at the age of 56, so he must have been born in Chongxi 1 (1032). He first became an official in Qingning 4 (1058) at the age of 27. He had one daughter but no sons, so he adopted his nephew Yindishi 夤底石 to continue the family line. His epitaph says he was buried in Xilou 西樓, 30 *li* north of the Huangshui 潢水 river, on the southern side of Songshan 嵩山 mountain, at Panlong Ridge 盤龍崗. Xilou was another name for Shangjing, the supreme capital. The Huangshui is the modern Shiramuren.

The epitaph of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, is in the Kitan large script. It begins 夭 罕 弔 非 炎 宋 刘 国. The first graph 夭 is «GREAT» (small script 又), the last graph, 国 is «STATE», derived from Chinese 國 *guo* (also written 国). This is written 九炎 ‹g.ur› in the small script. Based on inscriptions in the small script, 罕 弔 should be 'middle, central' (今考分‹t.iau.dû›), 宋 刘 should be 'Kitan' (天大) and 非 炎 should be 'Liao' (北刹 ‹xu.rå›). The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* are simply 罕 弔 ㄇ 刘 国 'Central Kitan State' 宋 刘 and ㄇ 刘 are apparently variants. 国 'state' is often followed by 爷, which judging by the small script inscriptions, must be the genitive suffix «en» (small script 和).

The next line in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* continues: 兄弟昇昊弔非爷. 昇 is a genitive suffix following stems with the main vowel [i], so «in», small script 雨. 非 means 'father' (also 'year') (small script 半 ‹ai›). So 非爷 must mean «ai.en» 'of the father' (半和) that is 'father's side of the family 父房' 昊 弔 seems to mean 'central, middle' 兄弟 clearly derives from Chinese 兄弟 'brothers'. So 兄弟昇昊弔非爷 must correspond to Chinese 兄弟之仲父房 'brothers of the family of the second uncle', a common expression in Liao inscriptions.

Most of the following graphs in the Yongning inscription cannot be understood, but 回 might be the equivalent of 曲谷 ‹go.er› 'house, lineage', so 'of the lineage of' and 尘 土 probably means 'deceased, former, late' Next is 北 西, Ch. 西北 'north west', with the order reversed, as see in the small script inscriptions. Xiao Xingyan had the title 西北路招討使 *xibeilu zhaotaoshi* 'punitive officer of the northwestern route', so 西 天 might mean 'route, circuit'. 百 五 means 招討 *zhaotao* (弱 无). 弱 有, which follows *zhaotao,*

might be Xingyan's Kitan name, 訛篤斡 *Oduwo. It is followed by 太 𡈼, Ch. *dafu* 大夫 'grand master' 昇 is a genitive ending. We then have the word 爸 仁 'wife', in the small script 丙 几. 攴 is «iŋ»; 攴 攴 你 攴 is probably Yongning. 攴 corresponds to 丙 ‹ei›. 你 must be «ń», small script 伏. So 伉 must be «gün», small script 九亦 ‹g.ün›, which transcribes 郡 *gün 'prefecture' 公 主 is from Ch. 公主'princess' 坐 寸 礻 must be 銘 *ming* 'text of an inscription'. It is preceded by 罕, which can only be 'tomb'

We would expect the last line of the title to conclude with the expression 'together with a preface 并序' In the small script, 序 *xu* is written 扎 屮 屮 ‹ho.le.bun› or 扎 屮 骨 伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń›. The equivalent of 扎 屮 屮 ‹ho.le.bun› in the large script is 赤 州 沒 'preface' 赤 corresponds to 扎 ‹ho›; 州 to 屮 ‹l›. 仃 «bun» and 沒 «bo.ń» are the equivalents of 屮 ‹bun› and 骨 伏 ‹bo.ń›. 爪 爸 礻 must mean 'together with 并' In the small script 并 is written 𢀛 𢀛 北. 爪 corresponds to 𢀛 ‹c›.

The *Epitaph of Xingyan* records in Chinese that the couple were buried thirty *li* north of Xilou, that is Shangjing, the supreme capital. In Yongning 25 we find the sequence 王 盈 京 寸 刘 北 尤 昙. 京 is 京 *jing* 'capital' 寸 is a locative suffix. 刘 is ‹i› (关 ‹i›). 北 is «NORTH» and 尤 is «THIRTY». 昙 appears in Xiaozhong 5, and means *li* 'Chinese mile' In the large script, 王 and 盈 are often found together. 王 盈 京 must mean 上京 *shangjing* 'supreme capital' In the small script, 上 *shang* 'upper, superior' is written 及 化 ‹u.ur›. We find 王盈 in Yongning 2. 将 帚 is 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general' 光 云 must mean 'composed' (冈 为 本). 太 光 史 丹 is a transcription of 太原 Taiyuan. 王 «oŋ» is 'king, prince' (𠂤). 爪 芝 means 'wrote', corresponding to the small script 𢀛 𠂇 ‹c.er›. 爪 corresponds to small script 𢀛 ‹c› and 芝 corresponds to 𠂇 ‹er›. 公 主'princess' is from 公主 *gongzhu*.

This is followed by 午 «iri» 'name' (small script 关 化 ‹i.ri›) preceding her name, 豆. In *Liaoshi* 93, the name of Oduwo's wife is given as 骨浴 Guyu. 爷 亲 is 'grandfather', cf. 亲 «ai» 'father' This is followed by his title, 犀 杏 太 王 *Qiguo dawang* 'prince of the state of Qi' 杏 corresponds to the small script 九 火 ‹g.ui›, from 國 **gui* 'state, country' This is a borrowing from Chinese, as distinct from the native word **gur*. The grandfather of the princess of Yongning prefecture was 耶律隆祐 Yelü Longyou, the third son of Jingzong. According to *Liaoshi* 64, he had the honorary title of prince of Qi.

This title is followed by a space, which is then followed by 米 平 尺 皇 帝. The last two graphs 皇 帝 are 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor' The prince of Qi was the third son of the Jingzong emperor, so 米 平 尺 presumably means 景宗 Jingzong. So 平 is «zu» and 尺 is «uŋ».

The next 5 graphs 灭 爸 住 卷 田 cannot be understood, but they are followed by 爪 'son', cf. Jurchen 爪 'son'. Then we read 犀 杏 太 王 奴, that

is 齊國大王妃 *Qiguo dawang fei* 'consort of the great prince of the state of Qi' Next is 二爷, the genitive form of 'two' (small script: 圣村). The next graphs 化百内 are unknown, but are followed by 昊弔爪 'the second of two brothers' *Liaoshi* 64 tells us Yelü Longyou had three sons: Hudugu, Helu and Tiebu. Princess Yongning's father was Helu 合祿, the second son. The next two graphs, 何至, may mean 韓 Han. 至 is known to be «an» from other transcriptions. Next are 木王, 大王 *dawang* 'great prince' So we can deduce that the word before Han, that is 俣, must be **sam.* 三韓大王 *Sanhan dawang* was the honorary title of the princess' father. Her mother is referred to in the Xingyan Chinese epitaph as 韓國妃 Hanguofei. So 公主俣何至木王妃二爷 means 'the princess was the daughter of the grand prince of Han and royal consort Wang'

The date 叁汎二非五月三日炎玫 can be translated 重熙二年五月十三日辰時 *Chongxi ernian wuyue shisan ri chen shi* 'at the dragon hour of the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of the Chongxi reign period' This must be the date of her birth. Chongxi 2 was 1033. The graph 炎 «lu» corresponds to small script 发 ‹lu› 'dragon' 弄 is a locative suffix. The next words 灭犬 must mean 'born, to be born'. In the small script, males and females have different suffixes. In referring to Yelü Renxian, Xiao Zhonggong, Yelü Nu, Han Gaoshi, Yelü Hongyong and Yelü Yongning, 'born' is 相爻 ‹BORN.er›. For women, such as the Late Madame Yelü and the wife of Yelü Yongning, 'born' is written 相当 ‹BORN.én›. We can see the same practice in the large script. The word used with Yelü Xinie and Yelü Changyun is 灭芝, but with princess Yongning, born is written 灭犬. So 芝 corresponds to 爻 ‹er› and 犬 corresponds to 当 ‹én›. 丑十赤寺 means 'at the age of sixteen' 寺 is a locative suffix. 丑 is 与炎 ‹eu.ur› 'years of age' 久发 休发 伉 丑 公主 口 爪 must mean 'she was made princess of Yongning prefecture' 口爪 corresponds to 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'to be made, to become' 口 «po» corresponds to 业及‹p.o› and 爪 «or» to 仝 ‹or›.

In line 7 we read 宪印杏呼公主. 杏 means 'state', so 宪印 should be the name of one of the states used in Liao honorary titles, but it is not known which one. The emperor's aunts (the sisters of his father) were called 大長公主 *dazhang gongzhu* 'princess supreme' (the standard designation of the paternal aunt of the emperor), so 呼公主 may be the Kitan equivalent of this term. This is followed by 二爷昊乎爪, which means 'the second son of the two people' 友非犬 is unknown, perhaps a name or title. 弄率 corresponds to 'prime minister' 冬帅 must mean 'married to', that is that she married the prime minister. As in the small script inscriptions, the verb 'marry' is preceded by a name with a locative suffix, in this case 寺 In Yongning 8 we read 百五寺冬帅 'she married the 招討 *zhaotao*.' Note that 'winter' 冬

«u'ul» is used phonetically in the word for 'to marry', written in the small script 𘲢𘲠 ‹ú.ul-›.

Towards the end of the inscription there are several dates. 𘲡𘲤𘲥𘲦𘲧𘲨 'on the twenty eighth day of that month', and 𘲡𘲤𘲥𘲩𘲧𘲨 'on the twenty ninth day of that month' This is followed by 𘲪𘲫𘲬𘲨𘲭𘲮𘲯𘲰 'ten *li* north of the supreme capital' This must refer to the date when her coffin was transferred to the place of burial. Then we have 

Kitan version is so eroded as to be illegible, but the Chinese text can be read. These three inscriptions are about the same people and events.

Other recently discovered inscriptions in the Kitan large script are the *Epitaph of *Duoluolibun* (Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu and Chi Jianxue 2005) and the *Epitaph of Yelü Qi* (Liu Fengzhu 2003). Other items in the Kitan large script include a number of coins, an official seal (Liu Fengzhu 2003) and two wooden strips with Kitan large graphs written in ink. (Liu Fengzhu, Ding Yong, Kong Qun, Bai Yu 2006).

5.5 The five elements / five colours

wood	blue	𘤀	𘥠𘦳𘤀	s.iau.qú
fire	red	𘥥	𘥠𘦳𘤀	l.iau.qú
earth	yellow	𘤀	𘥠, 𘥠	
metal	white	𘥥	𘥠, 𘥠	
water	black	𘥥	𘥠𘥥	yô.u

5.6 The four seasons

autumn	秋	𘥥	𘥠𘥥	n.am.úr
summer	夏	𘥥	𘥠𘥠	ju.un
winter	冬	𘥥	𘥠𘥠	u.ul
spring	春		𘥠𘥠	heu.úr

5.7 The four directions

east	東	𘥥	𘥠
south	南	𘥥	𘥠
west	西	𘥥	𘥠
north	北	𘥥	𘥠

5.8 The twelve zodiac animals

rat	𘥠𘥠	𘥠	𘥠𘥠	
ox	𘥠𘥠	𘥠	𘥠	‹uni›
tiger	𘥠	𘥠	𘥠𘥠𘥠	‹qa.ha.as›
hare	𘥠𘥠	𘥠𘥠, 𘥠𘥠, 𘥠	𘥠𘥠𘥠	‹tau.lí.a›
dragon	𘥠𘥠	𘥠	𘥠	‹lu›
snake	𘥠𘥠	𘥠𘥠, 𘥠	𘥠𘥠𘥠	‹mu.ho.o›

horse	俘列	馬, 馬, 馬	又仉	‹mo.ri›
sheep	忐	爭	坐为	‹iam.a›
monkey	氖	口中, 串	业反 ~ 业反反	‹p.o› ~ ‹p.o.o›
chicken	毛	竟	今为为	‹te.qo.a›
dog	丐	尤	伏为	‹ńi.qa›
pig	夂	兔	火	‹ui›

5.9 Numerals

	Large script	Small script	Jurchen	Chinese
1	一	毛	一	一
2	二	圣	二	二
3	三	包	三	三
4	廿, 卅	毛	丰	四
5	五	无	刃	五
6	赤	友	廿	六
7	卉	尽	斗	七
8	尒	垂	兀	八
9	爻	禾	九	九
10	十	毛	千	十
20	廿, 卄	丁	廿	二十
30	尤	𠂉	丕	三十
40	丞	了	夭	四十
50~80	尒	乙	垂	五十
60	於	乂	仟	六十
70	夲	冂	勺	七十
80	伶		步	八十
9	玖		土	九十
100	百	弼	百	百
1,000			五	千
	万	及	方	萬, 万

5.10 List of graphs used to write Chinese titles in the large script

This list is based on Liu and Wang 2004:79-88.

5.001 乂 [g] ~ [gi] (建 initial) (九)
5.002 夾 [an] ~ [ian] (建 final)
5.003 关 [hiu] (雄 initial)

5.004 [uŋ] ~ [iuŋ] (雄 宗 封 農 中 final) (太)
5.005 [ün] (軍, 郡 final) (亦)
5.006 [du] or [ziedu] (度 or 節度)
5.007 [sh] (使師事史)(兆)(景)
5.008 [si] ~ [sin] (晉信習) (序)
5.009 [sï] (慈刺七)(丗)(冏)
5.010 [si] ~ [tsi] (漆西齊)(犀)
5.011 [bun] ~ [pun] (汾)
5.012 [de] ~ [d] (等 initial)(荅)(今)
5.013 [ŋ] (牛 initial, 等 final)(尖)
5.014 [ceu] (州) (朮与) (人)
5.015 [gon] (觀) (几尒) (具)
5.016 [ca] (察) (朮方)
5.017 [cu] (處)
5.018 [ts] ~ [dz] (置知)(天)
5.019 [cuŋ] (崇)(朮当)
5.020 [lu] (祿] 'dragon' (龍) (Jurchen 岌)(戈)
5.021 [da] ~ [dai] ~ [tai] (大)
5.022 [pu] ~ [fu] (副夫傅府撫)(今)(安)
5.023 [giam] (檢兼監)(几方)
5.024 [gio] (校)(几考)
5.025 [tai] ~ [da] ~ [dai] (大太)(木)
5.026 [so] ~ [zo] (左)(今反)
5.027 [sen] ~ [tsien]
5.028 [iu] ~ [io](丙)
5.029 [ui] (衛,尉)(犮) (羽)
5.030 [śa] (上 initial) (戊)
5.031 [aŋ] (上 sh 江 final)(並, 勿)
5.032 [siaŋ] (將, 相) (將)
5.033 [c] ~ [cï] (持)
5.034 [sie] ~ [cie] (節) (尒)
5.035 [ju] – (諸, 柱)
5.036 [gün] (軍,郡) (仉)
5.037 [ha] ~ [qa] – (行 initial)(刋) (止)
5.038 [aŋ] (行 final)
5.039 [jo] (涿)
5.040 [nu] (奴); (initial of 内*nuei; final of 農(公夭)
5.041 [ui] (尉),内 final) 'pig', 'affair' (尖) (允)
5.042 [siu] ~ [sü] (巡 initial)
5.043 [un, iün, in] 雲 , 尹, 巡 xun (final)(亦)
5.044 [an] (安) 韓(final): genitive suffix *–an* (灭)

5.045 [dun] (屯)
5.046 [ten] (天,田)
5.047 [ki]~ [kiu] (勸 initial)
5.048 [ü] ~ [iu]
5.049 [śaŋ] (上)
5.050 [gui] (國) () (杏)
5.051 [śui] (水) ()
5.052 [k] ~ [ka] ~ [ke]開 () ()
5.053 [ai] (開 final): 'father', 'year' ()
5.054 [guŋ] (公) ()
5.055 [šï] (食, 實) ()
5.056 [bau] (保) ()
5.057 [ŋu] (吾, 五) ()
5.058 [bai] (百)()
5.059 [xu, xa] 戶, 哈
5.060 [shï] (十)
5.061 [im] (音)()
5.062 [un] (穩); 'genitive suffix' ()
5.063 [mu] (墓)()
5.064 [dzï] (誌)
5.065 'big, great' (大)()
5.066 used in the word 契丹 'Kitan'
5.067 () used in the word 契丹 'Kitan'
5.068 [xa] ~ [xu] in (xu-rå 'state')
5.069 [gur] 'state, country' (國)()
5.070 [hoŋ] (皇)
5.071 [di] (, 王)
5.072 'son' ()(behe)
5.073 [tau] 'five' used in *zhaotao* 招討
5.074 [in] genitive suffix after stems with main vowel [i] ()
5.075 [u] in «u.ru» 'upper' (上, 院) = (, , ,)
5.076 [ru] in «u.ru» 'upper' (上, 院) ()
5.077 [giŋ] (京) ()
5.078 [liu] (留)()
5.079 [śeu] (守) ()
5.080 [oŋ] (王)
5.081 [iri] 'name' (名,號,諱) ()
5.082 [ś] 壽 (initial) ()
5.083 [er] in the second syllable of the word 'born'
5.084 [gim] () (金)
5.085 [deme-] 'bestow an honorary title' (封)()

5.086 'dog' (狗) ()
5.087 'goat' (羊) (); also stem 未 *wei*
5.088 (丑) 'years of age' (歲) ()
5.089 [gün] (軍)( )
5.090 Ch. 黃 *huang* 'yellow'
5.091 [lu] (龍 initial)
5.092 [tuŋ] (同)
5.093 [du] (都)
5.094 [x] ~ [xi] (興 initial)
5.095 [iŋ] (乘, 興, 永, 寧 final) ()
5.096 [ju] (中 initial)
5.097 The first syllable in the Kitan word for 東 'east'
5.098 [so] ~ [zo] (左)()
5.099 [asa-] in 清 ()
5.100 [ar] ~ [er] in 阿撒里
5.101 'seven'; also in 迪烈 Dilie
5.102 [ni] in K. 'ox' **uni* and 'night' **suni*
5.103 [o] ~ [u] 序 'preface' *olibun (訛里本)
5.104 [li] ~ [lu] in **olibun* (序朔) (first)
5.105 () [bun] in **olibun*
5.106 [ku] 'man' ()
5.107 [sĭ] (私)
5.108 [is] ~ [isu] 'nine' ()
5.109 (馬) [muri] ~ [mori] 'horse' ()
5.110 [po] ~ [pon] 'time' (Jurchen 玫) ( )
5.111 () [li] ~ [la]: second syllable in ‹tau.lí.a› 'hare'
5.112 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable in 特里本 Telibun 'a name'
5.113 [li]: second syllable of 特里本 Telibun
5.114 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable of 特里本 Telibun
5.115 [bah]: in the names 八十五 Bashiwu and 杷八 Pabae ( )
5.116 [jau] 'hundred' (=)
5.117 [io] ~ [iu] 永 (initial)
5.118 [ni] – (寧 initial) ( )
5.119 [c] ~ [ci] stem of 'to write' ()
5.120 [gia]: in 王家奴. Oŋ Gianu. Also , and ()
5.121 [ju] (主)
5.122 [giŋ] (景)()
5.123 [su] ~ [zu] (宗 initial)
5.124 [pi] (妃) ()
5.125 [sam] (三)
5.126 [ha] (韓 initial)

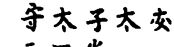
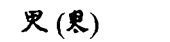
5.127 [po]: 'monkey', 'to become', 申 *shen* 'cyclical sign' (止反)
5.129 [o]: the second syllable in 'to become' (成爲) (止反)
5.130 [o]: the second syllable in 申 *shen* 'cyclical sign'
5.131 in 巳 *si* 'cyclical sign' also 𠂤, 𠂤, 𠂤.
5.132 [teha] 酉 *you* 'cyclical sign': 雞 'chicken' (also 𪀄).
5.133 [śa] the first syllable in 沙里 *šari* 郎君 *langjun* (戈方)
5.134 [ri]: the second syllable in *šari* 'court gentleman'
5.135 [so] ~ [zo] (左)
5.136 [sêŋ] the first syllable of 詳穩 *xiangwen*
5.137 [in] (引): genitive suffix after stems with vowel [i]
5.138 [śan] (山) (戈灵)
5.139 [tsi] ~ [si] (靜 jing < *cing initial)
5.140 [zï] (子, 紫)
5.141 [ar] suffix in 'composed (撰)'. Past tense suffix.
5.142 [pa] In name 杷八 *pabae*. Also transcribes 發.
5.143 [ne] ~ [nie] , in K. name 習涅 (伏)
5.144 [in] ~ [en] (隱, 恩)
5.145 [üe] the medial in 元 and 原 (艾)
5.146 [ś] 帥(initial)(戈)
5.147 [oi] 帥 (final)
5.148 [zin] in 夫人. Also 仍, 仍
5.149 [piŋ] (平)
5.150 [śiŋ] *in* 聖宗
5.151 [zuŋ] *in* 聖宗
5.152 [dau] - in 道宗
5.153 [gui] (歸)
5.154 [xua] (化)
5.155 [ni] ~ [nir] *in the name* 習尼里
5.156 [yi] *in the name* 拽剌
5.157 [zaŋ] (葬)
5.158 [go] (光 initial)(八)
5.159 [lu] (祿) lu (发)
5.160 [ai] (開 final) (丰)
5.161 [bu] *in* 'grandfather' (生)
5.162 [an] ~ [ên] (元 final after medial iü)
5.163 天 'heaven' (Jurchen 禾)
5.164 下 'under' (𠂤下=天下)
5.165 [c] ~ [ci] the first graph in the first word for 都統 (𠂤)
5.166 [u] the second graph in the second word in 都統
5.167 元 *yuan,* 初 *chu* 'beginning'
5.168 [cu] (楚) (𠂤灵)

5.169 [śu] (書) ( )
5.170 [li] (理) also 令 (initial) ( )
5.171 [śaŋ] (尚)
5.172 [iü] *in* 于越 *yuyue*
5.173 [üe] *in* 于越 *yuyue*
5.174 [an] genitive suffix after stems with [a] ( )
5.175 [ja] ~ [jo] 趙 (initial)
5.176 [siŋ] ~ [tsiŋ] (清) ( )
5.177 [nai] 'head, first' (in 正月 *zhengyue* 'first month')
5.178 jiŋ (鄭)
5.179 [nü] ~ [nio] (女)
5.180 [go] (哥)
5.181 [ioh] (藥)
5.182 [su] (蘇)
5.183 [dan] in 東丹 'Dongdan'
5.184 [diŋ] (鼎)
5.185 [her] (?) 海里，解里
5.186 印 'seal or 禮 'ceremony' (Jurchen 乖~朮) **doro*
5.187 [ta] (塔)
5.188 [ś] ~ [śa] (少 initial) (,)

5.11 Glossary of basic words in the Kitan large script

5.201	autumn	
5.202	award title	
5.203	born	
5.204	chicken	
5.205	child	(Jurchen 朮孑) ()
5.206	Chongxi	
5.207	Da'an	(, , , ,)
5.208	Dakang	
5.209	Daozong	
5.210	day	(Jurchen 日)
5.211	deceased	
5.212	died	
5.213	dog	
5.214	dragon	
5.215	*dushi*	
5.216	east	
5.217	eight	

5.218	eighty	
5.219	father	
5.220	fifty	
5.221	first (son)	
5.222	first year	
5.223	five	
5.224	forty	
5.225	four	
5.226	grandfather	
5.227	*guancha*	
5.228	hare	
5.229	horse	
5.230	hundred	
5.231	*jiedu fushi*	
5.232	*jinwu da jiangjun*	
5.233	*jinzi chonglu daifu*	
5.234	*langjun*	
5.235	Liao	
5.236	married	
5.237	monkey	
5.238	month	月 (Jurchen)
5.239	name	
5.240	nine	
5.241	ninety	
5.242	Nirug	
5.243	north	
5.244	one	
5.245	ox	
5.246	pig	
5.247	preface	
5.248	prime minister	
5.249	Qiantong	
5.250	Qingning	
5.251	Qudug	
5.252	rat	
5.253	seal	
5.254	second	
5.255	seven	
5.256	seventy	
5.257	sheep	
5.258	Shengzong	

5.259	*shixiang*	
5.260	*shou taiwei*	
5.261	*shou taizi taifu*	
5.262	Shouchang	
5.263	six	
5.264	sixty	
5.265	snake	
5.266	south	
5.267	summer	
5.268	*taishi*	
5.269	ten thousand	
5.270	ten	
5.271	that year	
5.272	third	
5.273	thirty	
5.274	three	
5.275	Tianzi (Taizong)	
5.276	tiger	
5.277	time	
5.278	tomb	()
5.279	twenty	,
5.280	two	
5.281	west	
5.282	wife	 (= , , or)
5.283	winter	
5.284	wrote, written	
5.285	*xiangwen*	
5.286	*xinan*	
5.287	*yanei*	
5.288	year	(Jurchen)
5.289	years of age	(also written)
5.290	Yelü	
5.291	*yuyue*	
5.292	*yuyue*	
5.293	*zaixiang*	

CHAPTER SIX

TEXTS IN THE KITAN SMALL SCRIPT

> To conclude: it is still a long way to the heart of the jungle of the Khitan writing system. The Khitan script remains one of the most fascinating problems in the history of writing in the Altaic world, and much hard work needs to be done before we shall be able to read, for instance, the Khitan rhymes in memory of Empress Xuanyi, the poetess who was put to death nine hundred and eleven years ago (1075).- Gy. Kara 1987.

The three texts presented here can represent the present state of decipherment of the Kitan small script. The first is a true bilingual, but it has taken the scholarly world half a century to agree on what corresponds to what, and about one third of the text is still somewhat uncertain. The second is a typical example of an epitaph of a Kitan noble, which lists his ancestors, official titles, family links, date of birth and death and occasionally other material. Much can be understood, much can not. The third is the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi,* which can be barely understood at all.

6.1 The Langjun inscription

The Langjun inscription is the best known and the most studied of all the Kitan inscriptions. Inscribed on a stele in front of the tomb of the Tang empress Wu Zetian, it is easily accessible. Rubbings of it were reproduced in several Ming and Qing collections. As far as I know the first translation in English was provided by Wylie 1860. Like his predecessors, Wylie thought the script was Jurchen, being misled by the date and the first line. Soon after the discovery and publication of the Shengzong and Renyi inscriptions from the Liao imperial tombs at Qingling, Haneda noted that the scripts were the same, and consequently the Langjun inscription must have been in Kitan. The Langjun inscription is a bilingual, the only bilingual in the present corpus, and most attempts at decipherment of the script have started with a study of this text. The most recent studies or annotated translations are Ji Shi 1996:261-269; Chinggeltei 2002:8, and Liu Fengzhu 2006:8.

6.2 Chinese text of the Langjun inscription

1. 大金皇弟, 都統經略, 郎君, 嚮以疆場無事, 獵于梁山之陽.
The younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin State, campaign commander, military commissioner, court attendant. For some time in the border areas there were no matters [to attend to] so he went hunting on the south side of Liangshan mountain.

2. 至唐乾陵, 殿廡頹然, 一無所睹. 爰命有司, 鳩工修飾.
When he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls and corridors were in a state of decay. There was nothing to be seen. He issued orders to the authorities to gather workmen to make repairs.

3. 今, 復謁陵下, 繪像一新. 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌. 與醴陽太守酣飲而歸.
Now, he returned to visit the tombs. The paintings were like new. Surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted. After he drank wine with the prefect of Liyang, he returned home.

4. 時天會十二年歲次, 甲寅, 仲冬, 十有四日.
The time was the twelfth year of the Tianhui period, *jiayin* [1134] mid-winter, the fourteenth day.

5. 尚書, 職方郎中, 黃應期. 宥州刺史, 王圭, 從行奉命題. 右譯前言.
The court minister and director of the bureau of operations, Huang Yingqi, and the prefect of Youzhou, Wang Gui, wrote this in accordance with the edict. On the right is a translation of this text.

6.3 Kitan text of the Langjun inscription

[1] 又 山 𠂤夾朳 𠂤主灭 𠂇 而礻 亚𠂤 𠂤用 屮𠂢及 戈𠂇𠂤
GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an deu cau.ji hur.ú g.iŋ l.iau.u ś.a.rí[2]

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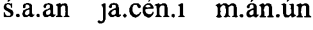
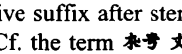
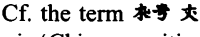
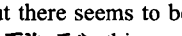
[2] Wang Jingru identified 又 as 大 'big, great' and 山 as 金 'gold, Jin dynasty' *Research* identified 𠂤夾朳 ‹g.úr:en› 'of the country' and 𠂤主灭 ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan' 𠂇 is 弟 *di* 'younger brother' 而礻 亚𠂤 ‹cau.ji hur.ú› corresponds to 都統 *dutong* 'military commissioner' 而礻 ‹cau.ji› is 'war', related to 而夾 ‹cau.úr› 'war, battle, army ' and 亚𠂤 ‹hur.ú› is 'controller' 𠂤用 屮𠂢及 ‹g.iŋ l.iau.u› corresponds to 經略 *jinglüe* 'military commissioner' 戈𠂇𠂤 ‹ś.a.rí› is 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant' 又 山 clearly corresponds to 大金 Da Jin 'The Great Jin [State]'; in Jurchen the word for 'gold' was **alčun*. There has been considerable discussion on the graph 山 and its variant 𠂤. Wu Yingzhe has proposed that the 'dotted forms' indicate grammatical gender i.e. they are used with masculine nouns. 金 also means 'metal', which is one of the five elements, but 山 does not correspond to 'metal'. 𠂤夾朳 ‹g.úr:en›: 𠂤夾朳 ‹g.úr›

[2]
c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.iń[3]

[3] 
l.iáŋ ś.a.an ja.cėn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i[4]

'state', ‹en› 'genitive suffix after stems ending in consonants' ‹g.úr› might be related to Chinese 國 *guo*. Cf. the term  ‹c.iau.qú.ui i.ri› 'Chinese name' and  ‹c.iau.qú.ui us.gi› 'Chinese writing, Chinese text' in lines 12 and 13. It could also be related to MMo. *gur* '*le tout entier*', perhaps in the sense of *tianxia* 'all under heaven' The word was borrowed into Jurchen in the form **gurun,* which was inherited by Manchu. Cf. Kane 2006. ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan' ‹an› is a genitive form used with stems containing the vowel [a]. ‹qa› implies a 'back k': was not used in transcribing Ch. words, which suggests the sound did not exist in Chinese. Chinese [k] was transcribed ‹k›, a 'front k' Similarly, implies a 'back g', as it was not used to transcribe Chinese: Chinese [g] was transcribed ‹g›, a 'front g' These transcriptions suggest that ‹qa› and ‹ha› were phonetically quite different from [ka] and [ga] and not merely positional sub-phonemic variants. I have used ‹h› for [ɣ] throughout for the 'back voiced g', which may well have been a fricative. The word for 'khan' is usually written ‹qa.ha-›, which implies 'khaghan' rather than 'khan', but ‹qa› by itself also occurs. ‹deu› 'elder brother' Similar forms are widely attested in related languages, but there seems to be no independent evidence from within Kitan itself to confirm this reading. : this corresponds to *dutong* 'campaign commander'. From other contexts, ‹hur.ú› seems mean 'in control of' In line 2 of the Daozong inscription, ‹hur.ú› appears with the genitive suffix ‹un›, which shows that ‹hur.ú› is a noun, so 'controller' So this term would mean 'the official in charge of the ‹cau.ji›' The stem ‹cau› means 'war, battle' Chinggeltei has suggested (=) ‹ji› might be a suffix similar to Mo. *či,* so ‹cau.ji› would mean 'those who fight, those who engage in battle', so 'troops, army' The stem ‹cau› appears in **cau.ur* 'war' which appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary, and in Jurchen **čauha, *cauši* 'army, soldiers'; Ma. *cooha* 'army' ‹ś.a.rí› is found in the *Liaoshi* glossary and elsewhere as the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 郎君 *langjun,* 'court attendant' Wylie translated this term 'prince of the blood'

[3] ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a:an ui eu.ń› corresponds to 向以疆場無事 *xiang yi jiangchang wu shi* 'because for some time there had been no matters within his territory' Only has the genitive suffix ‹an›, so must correspond to 'territory, region' ‹c.ar› means 'in the past, up to now' ‹am.se› is 'because of' ‹ui› must mean 'matters, affairs' ‹eu.ń› 'there were not' On ‹c.ar›, cf. Ma. *cala* 'previous, before'; on ‹ui›, cf. Ma./Mo. *weile* 'affair, matter' may be been read **uil,* but there is little evidence for this.

[4] 'He set out to hunt to the south of Liang mountain'. Between ‹ja.cėn.i› 'south side of a hill or mountain' (陽) and  ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci› 'after he came to the Qianling tombs of the Tang' we find ‹m.án.ún se.mu.i›, which corresponds to 'he set out to hunt' Chinggeltei 1999 suggests ‹m.án.ún› is 'to hunt' and ‹se.mu.i› is 'to set out, to travel' Other scholars have suggested the reverse, but ‹m.án.ún› is found in other contexts which suggest it means 'to hunt' ‹ja.cėn.i› is transcribed as such in *Research*; Chinggeltei 2002:128 transcribes ‹ja.úŋ.i›. The calligraphy on this inscription is rather cursive, and the graph in question not clear: it could be either or .

[4] 𗍫𗥃𗹦 𗴂𗂧 𗤶𗼻𗥤 𗅋𗊛𗹦
ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci.[5]

[5] 𗦳𗦆𗴲 𗐱𗴂𗂧 𗦆𗴲𘜶 𗴂𗗙𗊛𗍊 𗅋𗁅 𗂧 𗍫𗤶𗼃𗹦
g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cẻn p.u.ui.i dau.iń 356 ho.le.hu.er[6]

[6] 𗤶𗍊 𗹦𗂧𗥃 𗊛𗴲𗹦 𗗙𗴂𗼃𗰜 𗥤𗍊 𗁅𗐱𗴲 𗅋 𗐱𗊛𗤶𗴂𗂧𗍊
l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.áŋ.hu.ai śi.de u.ji:d jîn se.qó.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún[7]

[7] 𗍊𗹭 𗦆𗏁𗊛 𗅋𗊛𗦳𗐱 𗍊𗦳 𗴲𗂧 𗥤𗍊 𗴂𗗙𗍫𗍊
ún.e mó.qu.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii ún.yỏ jủr:én ś.ên p.o.ju.ii[8]

[8] 𗤶𗍫 𗦆𗹦 𗦳𗅋𗊛𗊛 𗅋𗂧𗹭 𗴲𗂧𗹦 𗅋𗁅𗴂 𗰜𗍊
l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.û.ui rẻŋ.én.er x.i.cẻn nẻn.ún[9]

[9] 𗐏𗥃 𗊛𗴲 𗦆𗏁 𗦆𗗙 𗅋𗁅𗹦𗊛 𗴂𗼻𗰜𗍊
em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún[10]

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[5]唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* 'the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty' corresponds to 𗍫𗥃𗹦 𗴂𗂧 𗤶𗼻𗥤 ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de›. From the context, 𗥃 ‹en› is a genitive ending, and 𗥤 ‹de› a locative. 𗅋𗊛 ‹x.ui› is the stem for 'come' 𗹦 ‹ci› is a converb, expressing 'after' = 'after he arrived' 𗹦 ‹ci› is seen also in 𗐏𗹦 ‹êm.ci› 'after he drank [wine with the local officials]' in line 9.

[6] 𗦳𗦆𗴲 𗐱𗴂𗂧 ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› transcribes 宮殿 *gongdian* 'palace' The rest of the sentence is not understood. It is sometimes suggested 𗂧 might mean 'good' based on a similarity between 𗂧 and the cursive form of Chinese 好 *hao* 'good'

[7]𗤶𗍊 𗹦𗂧𗥃 ‹l.i c.eu› is 醴陽 Liyang in the Chinese text but 𗤶𗍊 𗹦𗂧𗥃 transcribes a name like * 醴州 *Lizhou. Note the genitive suffix is 𗥃 ‹en›, not 𗍫 ‹on›, which suggests that the vowel in 𗹦𗂧𗥃 ‹c.eu› was [əu] rather than [ou], and that the final glide was considered a consonant: [li cew.en]. 𗐱 ‹nai› is 'head, chief' and appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary. 𗊛 ‹d› is a plural suffix. 𗐐𗦳𗤶𗴂𗂧𗥤 ‹se.qú.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún› is a verb. corresponding to 修飾 'to repair, to renovate' It is preceded by 𗅋 ‹jin›, a very common word which is not understood. It may mean 'shape, outward appearance' In ‹se.qú.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún›, ‹le.ha› *-*lɣ*- is causative and ‹al.ún› [a]*-*lun* is a past tense.

[8] 𗥤𗍊 ‹ún.yỏ› is common in the inscriptions. Here it seems to correspond to *hui* 'painting, decoration' in 繪像一新 *hui xiang yi xin* 'the paintings appeared renewed' Elsewhere 𗥈 𗥤𗍊 ‹lu ún.yỏ› corresponds to 龍顏 *lóngyán* 'dragon face, the imperial countenance' (𗥈 is ‹lu› 'dragon'). 𗅋𗊛𗅋𗐏𗴂 ‹x.ui.r.s.ii› 'came to, arrived' is a form of 𗅋𗊛- ‹x.ui› 'come' 𗐏𗴂 ‹s.ii› is a type of converb. The words after 𗥤𗍊 are 𗐏𗹭 𗹦𗂧. 𗐏𗹭 ‹jùr.én› means 'second, the second time, again' 𗹦𗂧 ‹ś.ên› is 新 *xin* 'new', cf. Mo. *sine* 'new' Together they mean 'renewed'

[9] This corresponds to 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌 'surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted.' 𗤶𗍫 ‹l.aŋ› is 廊 *lang* 'corridor' 𗦆𗹦 ‹go.ci› may have the same stem as 𗦆𗥃 ‹go.er›, a common term in the epitaphs, 'tent, lineage, household'. Here perhaps simply 'houses, buildings'.

[10] 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿
qi po HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú[11]

[11] 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿
qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN FOUR DAY p.o.ón[12]

[12] 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿
ei.au g.ün pu.kå.x.er c.iau.qú.ui i.ri oŋ g.ui sò.or[13]

[13] 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿
ci.er. c.iau.qú.ui us.gi[14] c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ hoŋ iŋ x.i ci.er.[15]

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[10] 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 = 'local officials together-with wine drank' 𘲍 ‹em› means 'place' so 𘲍 𘳿 ‹em:en› 'of that place: local' 𘴺 ‹nai› is 'head, chief' 𘳿 ‹d› is a plural suffix. 𘲍 𘴺 ‹deu.úr› is 'together', Ch. 同 *tong*. 𘳿 ‹ci› is a converb suffix, meaning 'after' 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 ‹p.od.l.ún› 'he returned' 𘴺 𘲍 ‹l.ún› is a past tense suffix.

[11] [The time was] the fourteenth day of mid-winter, *jiayin* year, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period. In 1933, Wang Jingru proposed that 𘲍 𘴺 𘲍 ‹dau.úr.ún› was the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 仲冬 *zhongdong* 'mid-winter' Chinggeltei 1976 proposed that since 仲 *zhong* means 'middle', 𘲍 𘴺 𘲍 might be related to Mongol *dumda,* Daur *duanda* 'middle'

[12] 𘲍 ‹qi› 'that'; 𘳿 ‹po› 'time'; 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› = Tianhui; 𘲍 'ten'; 𘳿 'two'; 𘴺 𘲍 ‹s.iau.qú› 'blue'; 𘲍 𘳿 'tiger' ‹qa.ha.as›: 'blue tiger' corresponds to the cyclical term 甲寅 *jiayin*; 𘳿 'year'; 𘲍 𘴺 𘲍 'middle'; 𘲍 𘳿 'winter'; 𘲍 'ten' 𘳿 'four'; 𘳿 'day'; 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 ‹p.o.ón›: past tense of the verb 'to be' 𘳿 ‹po› is given in the *Liaoshi* as the word for 'time' 𘳿 𘴺 corresponds to 天會 Tianhui, but the names of the reign periods in Kitan did not correspond exactly to the Chinese terms: 𘳿 𘴺 ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› means 'heaven virtue'

[13] It might be inferred that 𘴺 𘲍 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› means 'China' and represents a local (or Kitan) pronunciation of the word *Zhongguo*. 𘲍 ‹i.ri› means 'name'

[14] 𘴺 𘲍 𘲍 ‹c.iau.qú.ui us.gi› 'Chinese writing': the Chinese text. Cf. line 12: 𘴺 𘲍 𘲍 ‹c.iau.qú.er i.ri› 'Chinese name' The last word in the Kitan version of the Langjun inscription is 𘴺; this is also the last word on the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü Gu Yelü* and the *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong.* The Chinese version of the Langjun inscription indicates these two graphs must mean 'written by, 題' 𘳿 ‹ci› must be the stem for 'write'; 𘴺 ‹er› is a past tense suffix. In the Chinese text, the official title of Huang Yingqi 黃應期 was 尚書職方郎中 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 'director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat' 𘲍 𘳿 𘲍 𘴺 ‹pu.kå.x.er› corresponds to 刺史 *cishi* 'prefect' in the Chinese text.

[15] In the Chinese text, the official title of Wang Gui is 宥州刺史 *Youzhou cishi* 'prefect of Youzhou' In other inscriptions, 𘲍 𘳿 transcribes 郡 *jun* 'commandery' so 𘲍 𘴺 𘲍 𘳿 ‹ei.au g.ün› must be 宥郡 Youjun; 州 *zhou* 'prefecture' and 郡 *jun* 'commandery' being similar in meaning. 𘲍 𘳿 𘴺 𘲍 𘴺 𘳿 ‹oŋ g.ui ci.er› means 'Wang Gui, wrote [this]' 𘲍 𘳿 ‹sò.or› is usually found following 𘲍 𘳿 ‹k.em› 'edict', i.e. 'he received the edict, having heard the contents of the edict' The order came from the brother of the emperor, not the emperor himself, so perhaps this is the reason the word 𘲍 𘳿 ‹k.em› was not used.

6.4 The Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

The *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘 is a typical example of the Kitan epitaphs. It is particularly useful as a sample text because it is relatively long, relatively legible and in a good state of preservation. There is a biography of Yelü Dilie in the *Liaoshi,* which provides basic information on dates, official positions and so on. The original inscription is on display at the Liao Jin City Wall Museum in Beijing, and is easily accessible. The text with commentary was published by Lu and Zhou 2000 in handwritten form and in Chinggeltei 2002:222-231 in printed form. The handwritten copy in Bao Lianqun 2002 has also been consulted. Aisin Gioro 2004:242-284 and 2004b:69-84 are comparative studies of the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* and the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü,* who were father and daughter, and share much material in common. ○ indicates empty spaces in the inscription, which preceding certain words to indicate respect, and to separate lines of rhymed verse.

6.5 Biography of Yelü Dilie from the *Liaoshi*

Yelü Dilie, styled Salan, was a fifth generation grandson of Yelü Hou, investigation commissioner. He was generous and good at study, and wrote prose and poetry. At the end of the Chongxi period, he was appointed to the position of court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies. He was responsible for the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*. In the first year of the Qingning period, he was transferred to the position of associate administrator of Yongzhou. He showed merit in suppressing bandits, and was appointed *linya* and recipient of edicts of the northern division. In the ninth year, the Chongyuan uprising occurred. Yelü Dilie participated in the battle, and succeeded in suppressing the rebels. Consequently he was granted the position of military commissioner of the Linhai army. In the tenth year, he was transferred to Wu'an, to the position of surveillance commissioner. In the fifth year of the Xianyong period, he was transferred to the position of director of the Changning palace. In the fourth year of the Dakang period, he became the great prince of the southern chancellery. When his period of appointment was completed, he was asked to remain there. He then served as regent of the southern capital. He fell ill, and the emperor sent the imperial physician to see him. He was transferred to the supreme capital as regent. In the Da'an period, he was appointed military commissioner of Tamu city. He was ill when he took office. He was given the concurrent position of palace attendant. His emolument was that of an official of the first degree. He died in the eighth year of the Da'an period.

6.6 Kitan text of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

[1] 又 𘰾𘰀𘰚 𘰴𘰓 𘰇𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰾 𘰋𘰀𘰪 □□ 𘰾𘰉 𘰀𘰪 𘰾𘰪 𘰀 𘰓
GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rả qid.i g.úr:en jau.ul.ha.ai □□ s.iŋ g.ün z.ie du sh

𘰋𘰀𘰚 𘰋𘰪 𘰇𘰪 𘰾𘰀 𘰀𘰪𘰾𘰇 𘰀𘰚𘰇 𘰇□ 𘰚𘰪 𘰇𘰪 𘰇𘰪 𘰋𘰉 𘰀𘰪𘰉 𘰴𘰀
cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui □ tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ

𘰓 𘰪𘰪 𘰀𘰪 𘰾𘰪 𘰋𘰪 𘰴𘰀 𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪 𘰓𘰀𘰉 𘰓𘰋 𘰇 𘰇
sh dz.iú g.ui s.i ś.ui g.ün k.ei g.ui g.uŋ p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND

𘰓𘰇 𘰓𘰋 𘰇 𘰋 𘰀𘰪 𘰴𘰀 𘰀𘰪𘰾 𘰓𘰀𘰪 𘰾𘰀𘰓𘰀𘰉 𘰾𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰪
po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED rẻn.er ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un ne.ra:de

𘰪𘰀𘰋 𘰀𘰾 𘰇𘰀𘰉 𘰀𘰪𘰾 𘰴𘰀𘰇
RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho[16]

[2] 𘰪𘰪𘰓 𘰀𘰋𘰓 𘰀𘰪 𘰾𘰀 𘰀𘰉 𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰉 𘰓𘰀𘰉 𘰋𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰾 𘰴𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰾
qa.ha.an xe.dú.ún go.er zỏ.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss.en ś.a.rí:d c.as.a rẻn.er us.gi

𘰪𘰉𘰀 𘰀 𘰚𘰀 𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰾 𘰀𘰪𘰾 𘰋𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰾
hur.ú.un ui [yuan] KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar[17]

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[16] Line 1: Inscription engraved on the tomb 公𘰾𘰓 𘰪𘰪𘰋 𘰋 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› of Lord Yelü Salan (*Sarhan) 耶律撒懶 / 𘰾𘰀𘰪 𘰀𘰪𘰾 ‹ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ›, noble granted two hundred households 𘰓𘰇 𘰓𘰋 ‹po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED›, land grant noble granted two thousand households 𘰓𘰀𘰉 𘰓𘰋 ‹p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND› *kaiguogong* 開國公 𘰇𘰀 ‹k.ei g.ui g.uŋ› [dynasty founding duke], Qishui prefecture 漆水郡 𘰋𘰀 ‹s.i ś.úi g.ün› *jiuguo* 𘰪𘰪 ‹dz.iú g.ui› *menxia pingchangshi* 門下平章事 𘰀𘰪𘰉 𘰋𘰀𘰪 ‹m.en xa.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh›; *tongzhongshu* 同中書 𘰚𘰀 ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú›, *jianjiao taiwei* 檢校太尉 𘰀𘰪𘰇 𘰀𘰪𘰾 ‹g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui›, *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 𘰋𘰀 𘰀𘰪𘰾 cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu *jiedushi* 節度使 𘰋𘰀 ‹z.ie du sh› of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State 又 𘰾𘰀𘰚 𘰴𘰓 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rả qid.i g.úr:en›. The meaning of 𘰚𘰀 □□ 𘰾𘰉 is unknown. The *Liaoshi* refers to the Linhai army. 𘰪𘰪 ‹dz.iú g.ui› may be a version of *zhongguo* 'China' Cf. 𘰋𘰀𘰪 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› 'China' in the Langjun inscription. Lu and Zhou annotate 𘰪𘰪 as 魯國 Luguo 'state of Lu', but there seems little justification for this. By the context it seems to be an official title. The terms 'two thousand' 𘰓𘰀𘰉 𘰓𘰋 ‹p.a.ai p.in› and 'two hundred' 𘰓𘰇 𘰓𘰋 ‹po.ho p.in› refer to landholdings. 𘰀 ‹rẻn:er› seems to mean 'to make, to do' perhaps 'to serve' (in an official post). 𘰋 ‹er› is a past tense suffix. 𘰇𘰀𘰉 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› means 'first, first born, first period of the month, preface' 𘰇𘰀𘰉 𘰋𘰀𘰪 ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho› is a conventional phrase: together with preface'.

[3] 兩仝求爻 飞幺糸 芳化爻与 曲令 仲 万文 业仕非 才糸[綠] 圣年关
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po.do cẻn.a.bu.d.iń ŋ.iú nai.mủh.un bo.qo.i bo.qo NINE x.iŋ.d:en po.deu:de

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[4] 令□囤 盅几仆爻万 □关仲爻矢 尺平廾豹笠 业及子万 由灵利 丈火
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ún.e:de ün.iń u.ur.ai:en t.as.ha.am hó.le.bo.ń.er mú p.on:de mo.d:er

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[17] Line 2: 盅玉灵 ‹qa.ha.an› 'of the khaghan'; 乂尼灵曲爻 ‹xe.dú.ún go.er› 'horizontal tents 橫帳'; 州余 羊利 ‹zȯ.qu ai:en› 'younger paternal tent (lineage)' 季父房 *jifufang*'; ‹doro pai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d›: 勺 ‹doro› 'seal', 业羊北 ‹p.ai.ss› 'tallies' (*paizi, paiza*): 'bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司'; 飞为夫 ‹ś.a.rí› '*langjun,* 郎君 court attendant'; 笠 ‹d› 'plural suffix' 飞为夫笠 ś.a.rí:d corresponds to the Chinese term 郎君班 *langjunban*; 农冬为 ‹c.as.a› '*jasa,* tribal unit in the *ordo*'; 共几 ‹us.gi› 'writing', 亚令 ‹hur.ú› 'person in charge of'; 尖 ‹un› genitive suffix; 火 ‹ui› 'matters, affairs, business 事'; 芳公 [*yuan*] 'division' (芳 is elsewhere read *cu*). 屋关: corresponds to 知 *zhi* 'administrator' 丙年及火 几及久 ‹ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh› 'Yelü Gu' 耶律固 (name). 闪为羊'composed 撰'; 羊 ‹ar› indicates the past tense.

[18]Line 3: 兩仝求爻 ‹sȯ.or.121.er›: perhaps 'I have heard, it is well known'; 飞幺糸 ‹ś.iá.ah›: a common word; meaning unknown, perhaps 'good'; 曲令 ‹go:t› (PLUR) 'tent(s)' in the sense of 'lineage, family'; 业仕非 ‹po.mu.fêi› another common word, meaning unknown. 才糸[綠] ‹qudug› 'good fortune' 几 ‹ku› 'man, person' This seems to be a translation of 'families which accumulate goodness are sure to have an abundance of good fortune' 積善之家, 必有餘福, as suggested by Aisin Gioro 2004. 盅玉利 ‹qa.ha:en› 'of the khan'; 乂令爻火 ‹xe.se.ge.ud› 'areas, border regions' (?); 罒 'four (masculine)' Cf. Ch. 四方 *si fang* 'four directions' (?); 又仉笠利 ‹m.ri.d.en› most likely refers to the *miri* (tribal unit) Ch: 彌里 *mili* rather than 'horses' 笠 ‹d› is plural, 利 ‹en› is genitive. 非朱 ‹po.do› 'at the time of': 朱 ‹do› is a locative suffix. 骨勿关 骨勿 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› 'son of a son' = 'grandson' 共几 ‹us.gi› 'writing'; 矢 ‹de› locative; perhaps 农将 ‹c.299› is probably a mistranscription for 农号 **ciau* cf. 农号丈火 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› 'Chinese'.

𘞀𘞁𘞂𘞃𘞄𘞅 𘞆 𘞇𘞈𘞉 𘞊𘞋𘞌 𘞍𘞎𘞏𘞐 𘞇𘞈𘞉 𘞑𘞒 𘞓𘞔𘞕 𘞖𘞗𘞘
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[5] 𘞓𘞔𘞕 𘞋𘞓𘞔𘞹 𘞰𘞒𘞺 □□□ 𘞡𘞢 𘞻𘞼𘞽 𘞾𘞿𘞀 𘞁𘞂[虫]𘞂𘞃 𘞄𘞅𘞆 𘞇𘞈𘞉 𘞊𘞋
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𘞄𘞅𘞆𘞇𘞈 □𘞉 𘞊𘞋 𘞌𘞍𘞎𘞏𘞐 ○ 𘞑𘞒 𘞓𘞔𘞕 𘞖𘞗𘞘 𘞙𘞚𘞛 𘞜𘞝 𘞞 𘞟𘞠 𘞡 𘞢𘞣𘞤
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HEAVEN hoŋ.di ci.ra.il ńi.ad.bú hu.as.tủ.le.ge.ei rí.i[20]

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[19] Line 4: 𘞇𘞈𘞉 ‹ú.ur.ai:en› 'of the ancestors [former fathers]' ‹hó.le.bo.ń.er› 'imperial clan, imperial line 皇統' ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› *'xianggong,* lord, excellency'; 𘞖𘞗𘞘 ‹iri› 'name' 𘞓𘞔𘞕 ‹dir.n›: perhaps the name Diren 迪辇,迪烈. 𘞖𘞗𘞘 ‹c.ur.er.en› 'second name, adult name'; 𘞞 ‹en› is genitive, indicating an attributive. 𘞙𘞚𘞛 ‹s.ar.ha.án›: the name written Salan 撒懶 in the *Liaoshi.* 𘞡 𘞇𘞈𘞉 ‹SIX u.ur› 'six divisions 六院', 𘞢𘞣𘞤 ‹po.qo.ji› the name given in the *Liaoshi* as Puguji 蒲古只. 𘞓𘞔𘞹 ‹ri.g.en› 'a tribal title 夷離堇 *yilijin*'; 𘞨𘞩 ‹go.er:en› 'of the tent of'; 𘞪𘞫𘞬 ku ‹man, male›; 𘞭𘞮𘞯 𘞰𘞱𘞲 ‹EIGHT.ur.er› 'ordinal of eight: eighth' 𘞰𘞱𘞲 ‹n.on› 'generation'; 𘞇𘞈𘞉 𘞊𘞋 ‹u.ur.ai› 'ancestors'; 𘞴𘞵𘞶 𘞷𘞸 ‹xe.de.ń tir.a› *Xedeń *Tira (Diela or Tiela). In the *Liaoshi,* *Sarhan's 'second name' is written Dilie 敵烈, but the transcription 𘞓𘞔𘞕 ‹dir.n›, suggests Dilian, written elsewhere in Chinese texts as 迪辇. The 'second names' were usually followed by the suffix 𘞑𘞒 [ń].

[20] Line 5: 𘞰𘞱𘞲 ‹n.i.gu› 'gold, golden' also 'Jurchen' 𘞡𘞢 ‹siỏ.hu› 'south; region, also tribe', 𘞑𘞒𘞺𘞻 ‹ń.ô.úr› and 𘞄𘞅𘞆 ‹śi.ri› are tribal units. 𘞑𘞒𘞺𘞻 ‹ń.ô.úr› sometimes corresponds to 'circuit'. 𘞄𘞅𘞆 ‹śi.ri› is transcribed 石烈 *shilie* 'tribal unit' or 'sub-tribe'. 𘞋𘞓𘞔𘞹 ‹mo.ri› '*mili, miri* 彌里 tribal unit'; 𘞄𘞅𘞆𘞇𘞈 ‹ś.a.rí:d› 郎君 '*langjun,* court attendant'. 𘞑𘞒 𘞓𘞔𘞕 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ.di› 'Heaven Emperor': honorific title (*zunhao*) of Abaoji, the founder of the Kitan state. 𘞙𘞚𘞛 ‹bu ai› 'grandfather' 𘞜𘞝 𘞞 ‹ki.ên s.ú› = Xuanzu 玄祖 (name of emperor); 𘞟𘞠‹ia› elder brother, uncle'; 𘞑𘞒𘞺𘞻 ‹ń.ad.bú› (~ ‹bud›) '*nabo,* travelling camp'; 𘞓𘞔𘞹 *yilijin.*

[6] 𗼻 𗼻𗼻 𗼻𗼻 𗼻 𗼻𗼻 □𗼻 𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻 𗼻𗼻𗼻 [伏]𗼻𗼻𗼻
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[21] Line 6: 𗼻 ‹ai› ‘father’ 𗼻𗼻 𗼻𗼻 ‹t.ei s.ú› De Zu 德祖 (name of emperor); ‹hoŋ.di:en› ‘emperor (genitive)’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹ia.iá.ń.er› ‘brothers, uncles (?) (accusative)’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹c.i.is› ‘blood relations, members of the same tribe’; 𗼻𗼻 ‹siỏ.hu› ‘southern’; 𗼻𗼻 ‹ń.ô.úr› ‘circuit, tribe, region’ 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹c.as.a› *jasa* 闍撒 tribal unit’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹p.o.ju.ha.ar› ‘was promoted’. 𗼻𗼻 ‹miŋa.ad› ‘thousands ~ *meng'an* (?)’ 𗼻𗼻 ‹tau.un› ‘five’; 𗼻 𗼻𗼻 ‹SIX u.ur› ‘six divisions’; TWO: ‘the two parts’, i.e. the five divisions and the six divisions’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹p.o.ju.ha.al› ‘was promoted, was made’ 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹ri.g.en› *yilijin* 夷離堇 ‘tribal title’; 𗼻𗼻 𗼻 𗼻𗼻 ‘five divisions and six divisions’ 𗼻 ‹qi› ‘that’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‘upper ones, superior ones, those in the north’; 𗼻 ‹ia› elder brothers, 𗼻‹deu› ‘younger brothers’

[22] Line 7: 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹ri.g.en› ‘*yilijin* tribal title’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹d.úr.iń› [Kitan clan name?] 𗼻 ‹śi› ‘name before marriage, née, Mme. 𗼻𗼻 ‹TWO:en› ‘two (genitive/attributive)’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’; 𗼻𗼻 ‹m.o› ‘big, eldest’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹yi.il.iń› ‘Kitan name or official title: *yilimian/yilibi* (?)’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹po.qó.ji ‘Kitan name: Puguji’; 𗼻𗼻 ‹hor.ú› ‘people’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹ei.ra.u.ud.i› ‘Yelü’ 𗼻 ‹i› is a genitive suffix; 𗼻 𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹GREAT ordu.ô.o.ón›; 𗼻𗼻 ‹dau.úr.ún› ‘middle, middle period’ 𗼻𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹hó.le.bo.ń› ‘imperial clan’, also a personal name; 𗼻𗼻 ‹û.n› ‘*yuyue* GEN (?)’; 𗼻𗼻 ‹doro.er› ‘ceremony, ritual; seal›; 𗼻𗼻 ‹go.er› ‘clan, family, tent, lineage’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻 ‹c.ur.er› ‘second, second name’; 𗼻𗼻 ‹hor.ú› ‘Kitan name: may mean ‘people’; 𗼻 ‹uni› ’ox’; 𗼻𗼻𗼻

[8]𗈪𗆫 𗊭𗅋𗁅 𗍫𗆮𗍊 𗹦𗆫𗊴 □.□.𗁅 𗅋 𗤓𗁅𗼻𗹇 𗼃𗊴𗆫𗍫 力𗊭𗍊𗹦 𗼻
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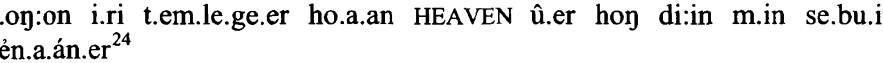
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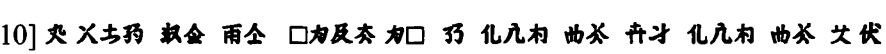
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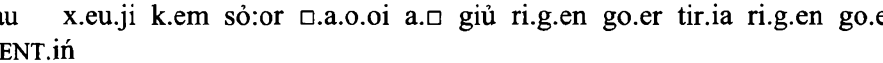
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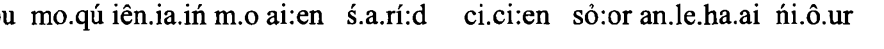
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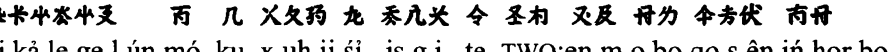
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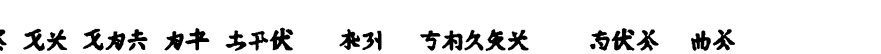
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[24] Line 9: 罢 TWO♂; 血主尔关 ‹qa.ha.ad:er› 'khaghan PLUR ACC' 月 ‹SEVEN›; 住中九 主 王 ‹mu.le.gi hoŋ di› 'venerable emperor'; 非朱 ‹po:do› 'time LOC' = 'at that time'; 年相 ‹ai:en› 'year (genitive)'; 会相 ‹em:en› 'place (genitive)' = 'of that place; local'; 叔会 ‹k.em› 'imperial edict'; 小 SOUTH 九突 ‹g.úr› 'nation, state'; 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› COP PAST (= was); 令羊 业点 ‹s.ai p.oŋ› '*caifeng*' (official title); 关仇 ‹i.ri› 'name, title'; 令会中答关 ‹t.em.le.ge.er›; 'grant a title PASS CAUS PAST'; 父 ‹HEAVEN›; 只关 ‹û.er› 'give, given' 主 王 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor' = the emperor 天授 Tianshou = 世宗 Shizong. Tianshou means 'given by heaven'

[25] Line 10: 叔会 雨仝 ‹k.em sỏ:or› 'an edict was received; by imperial command, by imperial edict, 奉敕'; 仇九相 ‹ri.g.en› '*yilijin*'; 曲关 ‹go.er› 'tent'; 升习 ‹tir.ia› Tiela; 仇九相 ‹ri.g.en› '*yilijin*'; 曲关 ‹go.er› 'family'; 艾伏 'tent, lineage' GEN; 乍 ‹bu› 'grandfather'; 又及 ‹m.o› 'eldest'; 斗相 ‹ai:en› 'father' GEN; 飞为六仝 ‹ś.a.rí:d› '*langjun*' PLUR; 衣衣相 ‹ci.ci:en› 'others' GEN; 雨仝 ‹sỏ:or› 'receive/hear' PAST; 伏仝仙 ‹ń.ô.ur› 'circuit'; 丙 几 ‹mó ku› 'wife'; 乂久药 ‹x.uh.ji› (Kitan tribe name) 九 ‹śi› '*née*'; 乔九关 ‹is.g.i› '*Isigi (name of a tribe: 乙室已); 令 ‹te› PLUR; 圣相 ‹TWO:en› 'two' GEN; 又及 骨勿 ‹m.o bo.qo› 'eldest son'; 令为伏 丙骨 ‹s.ên.iń hor.bo› *Senin Horbu; 罢 飞关 ‹tai ś.i› '*taishi*'; 飞为六 ‹ś.a.rí› '*langjun*'; 为斗 ‹a.ai› 'be' CONV; 为伏关 ‹deu.ń.er› 'brother' (accusative)'; 曲关 ‹go.er› 'family'.

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[13]𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪
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[26] Line 11: 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹yȕ.úr› ‘initial, first’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹t.ei z.in:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘he was granted the title of *specially advanced*’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹k.em sȯ.or› ‘an edict was received [heard]’; 𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪 ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹p.ar.il› possibly Bali [name of Kitan clan]’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹pu.is.iń› ‘lady’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹gi.mu› [possibly Kitan clan name]’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹śi.i› ‘née, Mme.’ 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹ń.iau.ui› ‘children, siblings’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson, grandchild’; 𘮩𘮪 ‹ONE♂› ‘one’ (used with masculine nouns); 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹dolo.én› [name]; 𘮩𘮪 ‘licentiate’ (?) (Ji Shi); 𘮩𘮪 ‹siȯ› ‘tribe’ (? in some contexts 𘮩𘮪 means ‘south’); 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹k.em sȯ:or› ‘edict received’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹te.ge.er› ‘died, dead, deceased’; 𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪 ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹dolo.er› [name]’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹aú.ui› ‘*niangzi:* form of address to a royal lady’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹na.ha.án.er› ‘maternal uncle’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹m.o› ‘great, large, big’ 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹TENT:en› (=lineage); 𘮩𘮪 ‹te› (possibly plural suffix).

[27] Line 12: 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹TWO:en› ‘two (GEN)’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’; 𘮩𘮪 ‹TWO♂› ‘two’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹zȯ.qu› ‘young, younger’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹ś.ie.ên.iń› *Sianin ‘a Kitan name’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹g.oŋ pu n.u› ‘Guangfonu 光佛奴’ 𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹tai ś.i› *taishi*; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹ś.iŋ s.úŋ› ‘Shengzong (name of an emperor)’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹po:do› ‘at that time’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹cau.úr› ‘battle’; 𘮩𘮪 ‹ui› ‘affair’ 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹t.û ś.i› 都事 *dushi* ‘manager’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹i.ri:s:er› ‘title, name’ PLUR ACC; 𘮩𘮪 dȧ ‘several’; 𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪 ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹c.aŋ ho› *Changho; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹pu.is.iń› *furen*; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹l.iu.iń› *Liuyin (name); 𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪 ‹tai ś.i› *taishi*; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹bo.qo› ‘child’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹bo.hu.án›; ‘children’; 𘮩𘮪 TWO♂ ‘two’; 𘮩𘮪 ‹BIG› ‘eldest’; 𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪 ‹oŋ ŋ.u› Wang Yu ‘name’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹BORN:én› ‘born (past)’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹go.d› ‘tents’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮪 ‹ca.aŋ ś.i› *changshi* 敞史: ‘a minor official in both northern and southern bureaus of military affairs’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹p.o.gȯ.l.ún› ‘promoted’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹c.ur.er› ‘second’; 𘮩𘮪𘮩𘮪 ‹bo.qo› ‘child, son’.

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[28] Line 13: 𐰇𐰋𐰃𐰏 𐰇 𐰇𐰋𐰆𐰍 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› '*jiangjun*; general' 𐰇𐰋𐰃𐰏 𐰇 𐰇𐰋𐰆𐰍 ‹b.u ca.aŋ ś.i› '*fu changshi*: official title'; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹mó ku› 'wife'; 𐰇 𐰇𐰋𐰆𐰍 ‹s.en› 'long life; also used as a personal name: Yixin' 𐰇 𐰇𐰋𐰆𐰍 ‹aú.ui› '*niangzi:* royal lady'; 𐰇 𐰇𐰋𐰆𐰍 ‹TWO› 'two'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹bo.hu.án› 'children'' 𐰇 TWO♂ (masculine form); 𐰇 𐰇 ‹m.o› 'big, great, elder'; 𐰇 𐰇𐰋𐰃𐰏 ‹te.gė› 'south'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇𐰋𐰃𐰏 ‹du g.ia.êm› '*dujian*' 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹du.uŋ mú g.iú.uŋ› '*Dunmugong* 敦睦宮 Dunmu Palace'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹p.uŋ go.n› 'official title'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'having been awarded an honorary title'; (𐰇 ‹le.ge› = CAUS-PASS, ei = CONV); 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹źuŋ śi.ŋ ss› 'Rongsheng bureau'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› '*xianggong*'; 𐰇 ‹GREAT›; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹l.iau.qú 'red'; 𐰇 𐰇 qa.ha.as 'tiger'; 𐰇 ai 'year'; 𐰇 ‹nai› 'head, first'; 𐰇 MONTH; 𐰇 TWENTY 𐰇 NINE 𐰇 DAY (locative) 𐰇 BORN:er 'was born'; 𐰇 𐰇 mo.d:en 'of the wives' (?)

[29] Line 14: 𐰇 ‹doro› 'ritual/ceremony'; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹ia deu› 'elder and younger brothers'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹n.ai.c:én› 'harmony (?)' 𐰇 ‹go.n› 'tent' (genitive)'; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹eu.ur› 'age'; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹x.ui.ci› 'come CONV: after he arrived'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹HEAVEN ordo.le.ha.ar› 'Chongxi' (reign period); 𐰇 𐰇 'fifteen'; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹l.iau.qú› 'red'; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹ńi.qo› 'dog'; 𐰇 𐰇 ‹yủ.úr› 'initial [year]'; 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 ‹x.iŋ s.uŋ› 'Xingzong' 興宗 (name of emperor); 𐰇 𐰇 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor'.

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[16] 叔扎爻尘爻 扎为买 叉公 ○ 仕戎犴村 父 又雨 伞生 伞北 刘冬 又雨爻
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[30] Line 15: 叔金 ‹k.em› 'edict'; 刘冬北 ‹ja.as.ii› '*jasa* SUFF' (?); 一 戎化 ‹UPPER ú.úr› 'northern division'; 冬木 ‹as.ar› quiet ?; 兮 业丰辻村 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en› 'bureau of seals and tallies' GEN; 戈为六 ‹ś.a.rí› *langjun*; 上九 买关 火 ‹284.zù DAY.i ui› *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* (火 ‹ui› 'matter, affair, business'); 舟冬 ‹b.as› 'again'; 杀 戈发 辻村 *Rongshengsi* LOC; 兮 业丰辻 ‹doro p.ai.ss› 'bureau of seals and tallies'

[31] Line 16: 叉公 ‹ún.n› 'present, now'; 仕戎犴村 ‹mu.ú.ji:en› 'sacred one' GEN; 父 又雨 ‹HEAVEN m.in› (reign title of Daozong); 火赏 东土央 ‹iú.ŋ c.eu.un› Yongzhou; 劳本 龙 ‹tu.uŋ tz› 同知 '*tongzhi* official title'; 业反仝 ‹p.o.or› 'become'; 叔金 雨仝 ‹k.em sỏ.or› 'edict received'.

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[34] Line 19: **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹BORN:er› 'born' PAST. '[He served as] **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹du g.ia.êm› *dujian* 都監 'director in chief' in the **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹ń.ô.úr› 'circuit' He was appointed **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹xu.ú b.ú l.iŋ› 戶部令 'director of the ministry of revenue' in the **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹dú.úr g.iŋ› 'eastern capital' 東京 and was appointed to the **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** (**⿰禾⿰禾**) ‹s.ie.ên p.ah (ss)› 錢帛司 'bureau of coins and bureau of silk' **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹TWO ss.d:en› 'the two bureaus (genitive)' **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹p.úr.se› is a common word; its meaning is not known. [He served for] **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹ONE ai› 'one year' as **⿰禾⿰禾** KNOW.u.ji 'administrator' [of the] **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹nai:d.al.ur› 'officials (bureaucracy)' (**⿰禾⿰禾** ‹nai›: head, official; **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹d› PLUR)'; **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹k.em› 'edict'; [he became the] **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹pu sh› *fushi* (副使) of the **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ› Changning palace 長寧宮…

[35] Line 20: **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹siỏ› ‹SOUTH› **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹u.ur› 'division, administration'; **⿰禾⿰禾** **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹deu.úr KNOW.ú.ji:de›: **⿰禾⿰禾** 'together' **⿰禾⿰禾** 'know, administer' **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹ji› SUFF = actor (?) 'he who administers: an administrator) **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹de› DAT/LOC; =同知 *tongzhi:* official title); **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹s.iú m.i ü.n› *shumiyuan*; **⿰禾⿰禾** **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹deu.ur KNOW.ú.ji:de› [as above]; **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹c.ur.ér› 'second'; **⿰禾⿰禾** ‹ai› 'year'; **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹ju.uŋ tz.iŋ g.ün› 'Zhongjingjun' **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹z.ie du sh› *jiedushi* 'military commissioner'; **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾** ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'awarded title CONV'; **⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾 ⿰禾⿰禾**

[21] 𗼻𗰜𗴂𗹦𗦇 𗍫𗾔𗤶𗼻𗦳𗏁 𗅋 𗴂𗐚 𗍑𗼃𗼻𗥃 𗏁𗼻𗾔𗫂𗼻𗹠𗦳
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[22] 𗦳𗹠[𗍑?]𗦳 𗰜𗍫 𗐚𗼃𗅆𗅋 𗴂𗍑𗰜𗼃𗍫 𗏁𗰜 𗼻𗅆𗹠𗼃𗏁 𗹠𗅋 𗦳𗰜
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[36] Line 21: 𗅋 ‹GREAT› 𗰜 ‹ui› ‘affair, business, achievement’; 𗅆 ‹qi› ‘that’ 𗰜𗹦𗅆 ‹ordo.u.ur› ‘ordo’; 𗼻𗰜𗹠 ‹hur.ú.un› ‘person in charge of’; 𗴂𗍑𗍑 𗏁𗏁 𗰜 ‹g.ia.êm m.en ui› *jianmenwei* (official title)’; 𗅋𗾔 𗰜𗐚 𗴂𗍫 ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› *shang jiangjun*: ‘senior general’ 𗰜𗼃𗼻𗼃𗾔 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘having been granted the title’; 𗼻𗼃𗼻 ‹p.o.or› ‘became’

[37] Line 22: 𗼻𗍑 ‘male PLUR: ‘[tent of] paternal uncles’ (?); 𗦳𗼃 ‹k.em› ‘edict’ [receive] PAST; 𗾔𗰜𗹠 ‹ń.ô.úr› ‘circuit’; 𗴂𗍫𗹠 ‹ku.û.un› ‘men’; 𗦳𗼃 ‹k.em› ‘edict’; 𗏁 𗹦𗅆 ‹SIX u.ur› six *yuan*; 𗍑 𗼻 ‹tai oŋ› ‘great prince’; 𗰜𗍑𗥃𗏁‹c.as.a.an› *jasa* GEN; 𗏴 ‹nai› ‘chief, head, official’, 𗏴𗹦𗹠 ‹hor.ú.un› ‘people’ GEN.

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[29] 𐜪𐜫𐜬 𐜭𐜮 𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲 𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹 𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿[𐝀] 𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅 𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉 𐝊 𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏 𐝐𐝑𐝒 𐝓𐝔
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[42] Line 27: 𐗡𐗢 𐗤𐗥𐗦 ‹p.ai ss› 'bureau of tallies'; 𐗧𐗨 𐗤𐗥𐗦 ‹ca.bu ss› [bureau of finance](?); 𐗫𐗬 ‹qi› 'that'; 𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶 ‹ai› 'year'; 𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺 EIGHT; 𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿 MONTH; 𐘀𐘁𐘂 NINE; 𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇 DAY:de 'on the day'; 𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌 ‹ńi.qu.il› [clan name]; 𐘍𐘎𐘏 ‹śi.ń› [name before marriage, née, Mme.] GEN; 𐘐𐘑𐘒 ‹mo:t:en› 'wife, female' PLUR GEN 𐘓𐘔𐘕 ‹ne.ra› 'tomb' 𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› 'Chinese' 𐘛 ‹nai› 'official, head' 𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟 𐘠𐘡𐘢 ‹c.aŋ ci.ŋ ŋ.í.ên› [Chinese name: Chang Chengyan (?)].

[43] Line 28: 𐙕𐙖𐙗 ‹aú.ui› '*niangzi*, royal lady'; 𐙚𐙛𐙜 𐙝𐙞𐙟 𐙠𐙡𐙢 ‹KNOW.er c.eu a.ai› ' as he was the local prefect (*zhizhou*)'; 𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧 ‹GREAT ho.mú.er› 'the great catalpa coffin 大辛宮 *da zi gong*' 𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹 'caused to be closed'; 𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› 'this is called'; 𐙯 ‹doro› 'ceremony' 禮; 𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓 ‹na.as.ha.án› 'laying to rest'.The people 𐙘𐙙 ‹hor.a.ad› (relations, family members) of the 𐙣 𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧 ‹s.ai p.oŋ:on› *'caifang'* 採訪 (= Yelü Dilie) and the 𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹 ‹ś.a.rí:d› 'court attendants' 郎君 𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿 ‹c.ar› 'in the past' (?). 𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥 ‹g.uŋ:un› 'his excellency' GEN; 𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽 𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅 ‹hó.le.bo.ń:de.i› 'from the imperial line…' (?). Note: 𐙕𐙖𐙗 ‹GREAT ho.mú.er› = *da zi gong*, literally 'great catalpa palace': the coffin of an emperor (or noble).

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[31] 𘮀 𘮁𘮂𘮃 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇 𘮈𘮉𘮊 𘮋𘮌𘮍𘮎 𘮏 𘮐𘮑𘮒 □𘮂□ □𘮓 𘮔𘮕 𘮔𘮖𘮗
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[32] 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇𘮈𘮉𘮊 𘮋𘮌𘮍𘮎 𘮏 𘮐𘮑𘮒 𘮓𘮔𘮕 𘮖𘮗 𘮘𘮙𘮚 𘮛 𘮜𘮝𘮞𘮟 𘮠𘮡𘮢𘮣𘮤 𘮥 𘮦𘮧𘮨 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇 𘮈𘮉𘮊 𘮏𘮐
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[46] Line 31:𘮀 𘮁𘮂𘮃 ‹tai ś.i:de› *'taishi'* LOC; 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇 ‹û.ul.ge.én› 'married'; 𘮈𘮉𘮊 ‹c.úr.én› 'second'; 𘮏 ‹śi› 'name before marriage, née, Mme.'; 𘮐𘮑𘮒 ‹m.ó.qú› 'big, eldest'; 𘮓𘮔𘮕 ‹bo.qo› 'son, child'; 𘮓𘮖𘮗 ‹bo.hu.án› 'children'; 𘮘 ‹THREE› 𘮙 BIG 𘮚𘮛 ‹t.ud› (personal name); 𘮜𘮝𘮞𘮟 ‹pu.is.iń› *'furen,* lady'; 𘮠𘮡𘮢𘮣𘮤 ‹na.ha.án:er› 'maternal uncles' ACC; 𘮥 𘮦𘮧𘮨 ‹s.êŋ.dú› *'xiangwen'* (?) LOC; 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇 ‹û.ul.ge.én› 'married'; 𘮈𘮉𘮊 ‹c.ur.én› 'second'; 𘮏𘮐 ‹ta.aŋ› 'Tang' (family name); 𘮆𘮇 ‹śi:ń› 'name before marriage, Mme' GEN; 𘮈𘮉 ‹BORN:én›; 𘮊𘮋 ‹go.er:en› 'tent' GEN; 𘮌𘮍𘮎 𘮏𘮐 ‹ei.au.u sh n.u› 'Yao Shinu' (personal name); 𘮓𘮔𘮕 𘮖𘮗 ‹ś.a.rí.de› 'court attendant' LOC; 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇 ‹û.ul.ei› 'given = married to' CONV; 𘮘𘮙𘮚 ‹dur:én› 'fourth'; 𘮛 𘮜𘮝𘮞𘮟 ‹śi:ń› 'name before marriage'; 𘮠𘮡𘮢𘮣𘮤 ‹mó:t› 'mother, wife, female' PLUR; 𘮥 𘮦𘮧𘮨 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› *'xianggong,* lord'; 𘮏𘮐 ‹siỏ› 'tribe, south'; 𘮓𘮔𘮕 𘮖𘮗 ‹i.ri.de› 'name, title' LOC.

[47] Line 32: 𘮀 𘮁𘮂𘮃 ‹UPPER te.gẻ› [LOWER] (north south) ‹śi› 𘮈𘮉𘮊 ‹c.eu› (州) 𘮋 ‹TWO›; 𘮌𘮍𘮎 ‹ai› 'year' 𘮏𘮐 ‹ai:se› 'year (plural)'; 𘮈𘮉𘮊 ‹BORN.i›; 𘮄𘮅𘮆𘮇 ‹a.ai› COP CONV; 𘮐𘮑𘮒 𘮓𘮔𘮕 ‹n.ai.c.er› 'harmony'; 𘮖𘮗𘮘 ‹c.i.is› 'blood relations'; 𘮙 ‹de› LOC ; 𘮚𘮛 𘮜𘮝𘮞𘮟 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› *'xianggong,* lord' GEN: 𘮠𘮡𘮢𘮣𘮤 ‹eu.úr› 'years of age'; 𘮥 ‹mó› 'wife, female'; 𘮦 ‹te› 'plural ending for females'.

[33] 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀
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[34] 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀
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[35] 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀
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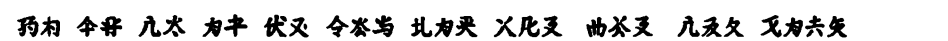
[48] Line 33: 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹pu.is.iń› *'furen*, lady'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹te.gė› 'south: here: clan name'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹śi:i› 'née, Mme' GEN (?); 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹u.ur g.iŋ.en› 'supreme capital' GEN 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹l.iu ś.eu› 'regent' 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹pu.is.iń:en› *'furen,* lady' GEN 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹i.ri› 'name, title' 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹bo.hu.án› 'children' 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹ai:d› 'male' PLUR; 𒀀𒀀𒀀 THREE♂ 'three (MASC.); 𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹m.o› 'big, eldest'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹c.ur.er› 'second'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹xu.ju› Huju (personal name); 𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹t.un› 'youngest, last in a series' (?); 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› *'xianggong,* lord'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹pu.is.iń› *'furen,* lady'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹284.zủ› 'referring to emperor' (?); 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹p.iáu.én› 'died' (?); 𒀀𒀀 ‹TENT›; 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹BORN:er›; 𒀀𒀀 ‹mó› 'female'; 𒀀𒀀 ONE 'one'

[49] Line 34: 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹n.o.ó.ur› 'circuit, tribe'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹c.i.is› 'blood relation' 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹ku.û.ud.le.gi› 'educated, brought up' (?); 𒀀𒀀 'man', 𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹le.gi› is a causative suffix: ‹ku.û.ud.le.gi› 'caused to be an adult person' = 'brought up' (?); 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹doro.d.le.hu›; 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 doro.a.án; 𒀀 'ceremony ~ ritual ~ seal'; 𒀀 might be a plural suffix; 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› 'come CAUS CONV': 'caused to come, brought'; 𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹mó:n› 'female, mother, wife GEN'; 𒀀𒀀 ‹GREAT› 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 ‹te.ge.e.ci› 'after he died (?)'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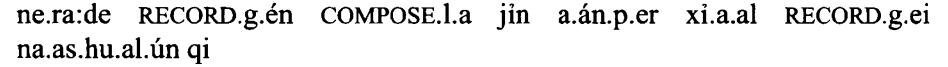
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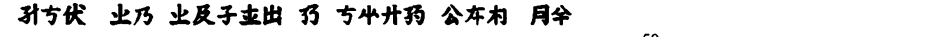
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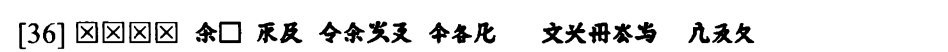
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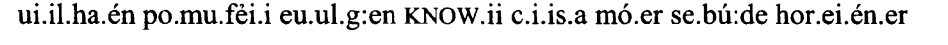
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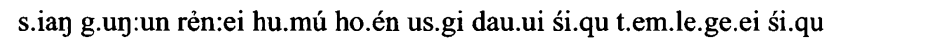
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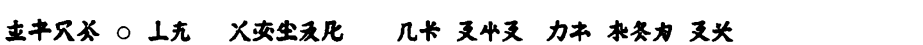
[50] Line 35: ‹húr.er› 'three'; TENT LOC; ‹p.a.rí.le.hu›: possibly related to Bali, a Kitan clan name; ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› 'general (*jiangjun*)' ‹a.ai› COP CONV 'being' ‹te.ge.én› 'died, deceased'; xe.dú.ún go.er.ún 'horizontal tents' GEN; ‹g.u.uh› Gu (personal name); ‹ś.a.rí:de› 'court attendant, *langjun*' LOC; ‹ne.ra:de› 'tomb' LOC; ‹RECORD.g.én› 'inscribe' PAST; ‹qi› 'that'; ‹ne.ra:en› 'tomb' GEN ; ‹TEXT.ú› 'text'

[51] Line 36: 'mountain/tomb'; ‹s.êŋ.dú› *xiangwen*; KNOW.ii 'administer 知'; ‹c.i.is.a› 'blood relations'; ‹mó.er› 'mother/wife'; ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un› *xianggong* GEN; ‹rèn:ei› 'having served in the capacity of'; ‹us.gi› 'writing' ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'granted an honorary title PASS/CAUS.CONV' ‹RECORD.g:er›(誌) inscribe' PAST ‹RECORD.g.én te.gu› 'the inscription (誌) says (曰)'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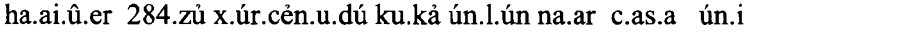
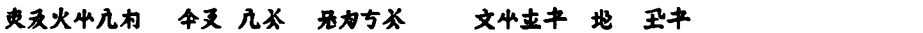
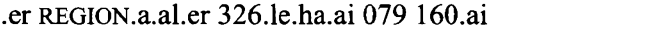
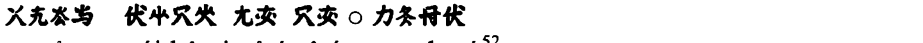
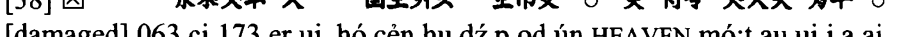

li.u.ud.le.g:en s.ún g.er REGION.a.al.er 326.le.ha.ai 079 160.ai


xe.zủ.ge.er ńi.l.û.ui yủ.úr û.úr na.as.bo.ń[52]

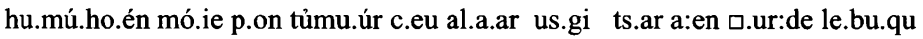
[38] ☒ 
[damaged] 063.ci.173.er ui hó.cẻn.hu.dź p.od.ún HEAVEN mó:t au.ui.i a.ai

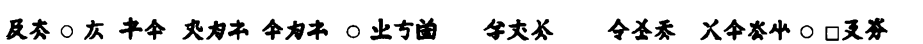

hu.mú.ho.én mó.ie p.on tủmu.úr c.eu al.a.ar us.gi ts.ar a:en □.ur:de le.bu.qu

o.oi SIX ai.se au.a.ar s.a.ar p.al.343 YOUNG:qú:er t.ên.is xe.se.ge.l □.ún.e


x.an.rí:er ün.n tu ś.iá.ah COMPOSE.i ordo.ó.ji dả po.rèn.zủ:de zủ.er.ei aú.ur.le.hu.ai

b.u[53]

[39] 
ŋ.u.dź.ha.ai KNOW.iń po.qo.ud.u.ji iu ai.ri.ún al.i mú.158 u.ji ei.u hur.ú


co.ju.ha.ai doro.l.ún x.ui.ri.bo.ń c.eu.ul.ûn 307.ei dau.ui il.ha.ar k.ii.ge.ei

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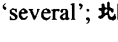
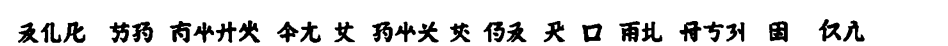
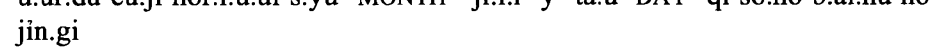
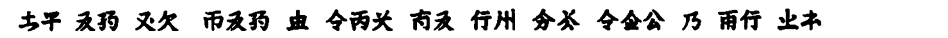
[52] Line 37:  ‹hor.bo.ń› Horbun (曷魯本) 'personal name'; ‹oŋ:on› prince GEN; ‹t.úr.er› 'fourth' (masc. form); ‹n.on:de› 'generation' LOC; ‹BORN.i› 'born'; ‹n.i.gu› 'gold' or 'Jurchen'; (~‹bud›) *'nabo'*; *'ordo'* ‹284.zủ› 'imperial/emperor'; ‹c.as.a› *'jasa'*; ‹REGION.a.al.er› 'region' ACC; ‹na.as.bo.ń› 'peace, at peace'

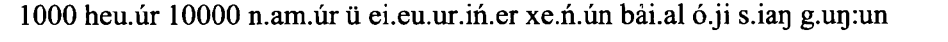
[53] Line 38: ‹HEAVEN›; ‹mó:t› 'mothers, wives, females'; ‹tủmu.ur c.eu› 'ten thousand districts' (?) (or perhaps a place name); ‹SIX›; ‹ai.se› 'years' ordo.ó.ji *'ordo'*; dả 'several'; ‹us.gi› 'writing'; YOUNG:qú:er 'young'.

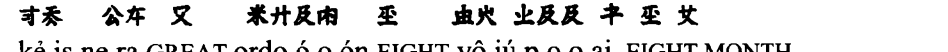

u.ur.dú cu.ji hor.l.u.ui s.yủ MONTH ji.l.i y ta.u DAY qi sỏ.ho b.al.hu hó jin.gi


eu.ul u.ji mo.qó od.u.ji yô t.iu.i hor.u mú.zỏ dû.ui t.em.n am sỏ.mú p.ar[54]

[40] 
1000 heu.úr 10000 n.am.úr ü ei.eu.ur.ińer xe.ń.ún bải.al ó.ji s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un

kẻ.is ne.ra GREAT ordo.ó.o.ón EIGHT yô.iú p.o.o ai EIGHT MONTH


SEVEN DAY us.gi s.iaŋ g.uŋ do hor.a o.oi □.al.hu n.□ ia deu.un


p.iáu.er l.iu g.ia n.u tai sh:en bo.qo car.a rẻn:er[55]

6.7 Partial translation of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

This is a partial and provisional translation. It aims at no more than giving the general gist of the text.

Inscription engraved on the tomb of Lord Yelü Saran (*Sarhan), noble granted two hundred households, land grant noble granted two thousand households, dynasty founding duke, Qishui prefecture chancellery manager of affairs, joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery, acting defender in chief, minister of the court of palace entertainments,

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[54] Line 39: ‹KNOW.ń› 'administer' GEN; ‹hur.ú› 'person in charge'; ‹doro.l.ún› 'seal ~ ritual' (l.ún is a past tense suffix, so must be a verb here); ‹MONTH›; ‹ta.ú› 'long, eternal'; ‹DAY›; ‹qi› 'that'

[55] Line 40: ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› 'thousand springs ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋'; ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un› *xianggong* (lord) GEN; ‹kẻ.is› 'bury' SUFF?; ‹ne.ra› 'tomb'; ‹GREAT ordo.u.o.ón› 'Da'an reign period'; 'eight'; ‹yô.ú› 'black'; ‹p.o.o› 'monkey'; ‹ai› 'year'; 'eight'; 'month'; 'seven'; 'day'; ‹us.gi› 'writing' (?); ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› *xianggong*; ‹do› LOC; ‹hor.a› 'people' (?); ‹ia deu.un› 'elder brothers and younger brothers' GEN; ‹l.iu g.ia n.ú› Liu Jianu (name); ‹tai sh:en› *taishi* GEN; ‹bo.qo› 'son'; ‹car.a› 'Chara' (name); ‹rẻn:er› 'make' PAST.

military commissioner of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State.

Composed by Yelü Gu, administrator in charge of the division of written matters, member of the of the ... *jasa* (tribal unit in the *ordo*), member of the board of court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies of the younger paternal line of the horizontal tents of the khan.

I have heard it said that families which accumulate goodness are sure to have abundant good fortune.... in the border regions of the khan... the tribal units of the four regions at the time of nine grandsons... In the Chinese writing ...

The name of his excellency was *Diren, and his second name was *Sarhan. He was a man of the tent of the *yilijin* *Puguji of imperial descent of the six divisions, an eighth generation descendant of *Xedeń Tira.

He was appointed to the position of member of the bureau of court attendants of the Yelü *miri* of the *shilie* of the tribes of the southern division...He was promoted to the *jasa* of the tribe of blood relations of the brothers of the emperor Dezu... He was promoted to *yilijin* of the second division of the five and six administrations of the northern branch of the brothers (of the emperor)... *yilijin* fifth six divisions tribe

They had two children. The eldest was *Puguji. In the middle period of the Da'an period, *Holebon *yuyue,* *Huamago *yilijin*... *Yilin *Kugul, *langjun.* His wife, Mme. was laid to rest at *nabo*. Of these two, the second son was *Sarhan Lebuh, *xiangwen*. In the first year(s) of the reign of Taizong, he was the grand *xiangwen* of the five seals of the southwest. At a battle at settlement... he served the clan of the emperor. He had two wives. The second son was *Horbun *Heu. His official title was investigation commissioner.

He served two khans. At the time of Taizong he was made... in that place... he was awarded the title of investigation commissioner. In the time of the Emperor Tianshou (Shizong) An edict was received his grandfather of the tent of Tiela *yilijin* court attendant of the lineage of the elder brothers... [Heluben Hou's] wife was *Huguji, of the *Isigi clan ... He was granted the title of... His wife was *Doloer, granddaughter of Mme *Gimu, Lady *Paril (Bali) of the great tent of the maternal uncles...

The two of them had two children. The younger was Shanning Guangfonu, *taishi*. At the time of Shengzong battle... title of *dushi*... His wife was *Chang'e *furen.* The eldest, the child of *taishi,* they had two children (sons): the eldest was Wang Yu, born into the tent of *yuyue* He was promoted to the position of administrator... The second son...General, deputy chief administrator... His wife, the royal lady *Isin. They had two children. The eldest was ... He was granted the honorary title

of administrator in charge of the Dunmu Palace... the Rongsheng bureau... In the year of the red tiger, the first month, on the twenty ninth day, he was born...

His relations with his brothers were harmonious (?) In the fifteenth year of the Chongxi period, the year of the red dog, the beginning year, at [the court of] emperor Xingzong ...'

By edict he was appointed court attendant in charge of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* in the bureau of seals and tallies. Later... in the *Rongshengsi* ... He was a court attendant in the bureau of seals and tallies ... At the time of the current emperor Daozong he was appointed the chief administrator of Yongzhou.... By imperial edict... he was sent to... receiver of edicts of the northern division The uncle of the emperor, *Bogici...

After he was awarded the title of ox-herding official, he was made the investigation officer of Wu'an county. Again, he was awarded the title of investigation officer and also made chief administrator of the central capital... He served as director in chief in the circuit. He was appointed director of the ministry of revenue in the eastern capital and was appointed to the bureau of coins and bureau of silk. He served for one year as administrator of officials. By imperial edict, he was made deputy commander of the Changning palace... In the second year he was given the title of military commissioner of the Army of the Central Capital. He became the *linya* of the northern administration. He served as administrator in the land of the Heaven Region (?)...

Great achievements... he was granted the title of palace gate guard and senior general... He became a member of the personal guards of the tents of the paternal uncles. By edict he was made great prince of the six divisions the officials and the people of the *jasa*... By imperial edict he was granted the honorary title of joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery and regent of the southern capital...

By imperial edict, for three months town, settlement ... military/war... he again came to the *ordo*... By imperial edict ... he again became the regent of the supreme capital and the local administrator of Tamar. By imperial edict, after he arrived in the western places...

At the age of sixty two by imperial edict... he was there for six years. On the 23rd day of the first month of the year of the black snake, in the eighth year of the Da'an period, he fell ill and died...

That year, on the ninth day of the eighth month, in a mountain tomb... his wife, Mme. *Niquil... the Chinese chief official Chang Chengyan...

The great catalpa coffin was closed. This is called the ceremony of laying to rest. The family members of Yelü Dilie and the court attendants...

His excellency Qudug... in control of writing, composed the text...

His excellency had three wives/consorts. The first was Yujie, of the lineage of the prime minister. They had two children... the second, a lady of the Chulud tribe. She married *taishi*. The eldest child had three children. The eldest married Lady *Tud... married *xiangwen* of the maternal uncles. The second Mme Tang was married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant....

In the upper and lower regions he spent two years. His relations with his blood relations were harmonious... He was appointed regent of the supreme capital. He had three male children. The eldest... the second was Huju, the youngest was He had one daughter... He educated his blood relations... after he died...

Yelü Gu, of the horizontal tents, court attendant, on the tomb, recorded this text on the tomb.

The inscription says: Born of the fourth generation of prince *Horbun... the Jurchen *nabo, ordo, jasa* and regions at peace... Heaven mother ten thousand districts six years The administrator, the person in charge... ritual... long eternal day... Thousand springs ten thousand autumns... buried ... tomb.

On the seventh day of the eighth month of the eighth year, *renshen*, the year of the black monkey, of the Da'an period... Chara, son of Liu Jianu, *taishi,* made this.

6.8 Kitan text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi[56]

Title: 𘮩𘮪𘮫𘮬 𘮭𘮮𘮯𘮰 𘮱𘮲𘮳𘮴 𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸[57]

[1] 𘮩𘮪𘮫𘮬 𘮭𘮮 𘮯𘮰𘮱 𘮲𘮳 𘮴𘮵𘮶 𘮷𘮸[余/糸]
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ûn c.ai [ah] w.un[58]

[2] ○ 𘮷𘮸𘮹𘮺 𘮻𘮼 ○ 𘮽𘮾 𘮿𘯀 𘯁𘯂 𘯃𘯄 𘯅𘯆 𘯇𘯈 𘯉𘯊 𘯋𘯌 𘯍𘯎 𘯏𘯐
ci.g.en u.ur ŋ.iú y.ên t.uŋ z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu g.êm

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[56] The text is in *Research* and Chinggeltei 2002. See also Zhang and Schlepp, 1998; Wang Jingru 王靜如 1933; Yan Wanzhang 閻萬章 1982. ○ indicates several empty spaces in the inscription, preceding certain words to indicate respect. It also separates lines of rhymed verse.

[57] The title is in a type of seal script, in which the graphs are arranged in four groups of four. They correspond to 𘮩𘮪𘮫𘮬 𘮭𘮮 𘮯𘮰𘮱 𘮲𘮳𘮴 𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸 in the cursive script. This repeated in line [1] of the epitaph which follows.

[58] Line 1: ‹s.y.iên ii› 𘮩𘮪𘮫𘮬 𘮭𘮮 'Xuanyi: name of the empress'; 𘮯𘮰𘮱 ‹neu.e› 'earth'; 𘮲𘮳𘮴 ‹mo.n› 'mother' (-n genitive); 𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸 ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness, grief'; 𘮷𘮸[余] ‹c.ah› (𘮷𘮸=𘮷𘮸) 𘮷𘮸[糸] ‹w.un› Ch.冊文 *cewen* 'text' Translation: 'Eulogy for the Earth Mother (Kitan honorific term for 'empress') Xuanyi.' The graph 𘮷𘮸 is probably 𘮷𘮸; the rubbing of the original text could be read either way.

𐘀𐘁𐘂 𐘃𐘄𐘅 𐘆𐘇𐘈 𐘆𐘉𐘊 𐘆𐘋𐘌 ○ 𐘍𐘎𐘏 ○ 𐘐𐘑𐘒 ○ 𐘓𐘔 𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙 𐘚𐘛𐘜 𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠 𐘡𐘢𐘣 𐘤𐘥𐘦 𐘧𐘨𐘩
g.iau g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu 261.zù DAY.i ui xe.zải.ei.ii us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i

𐘪𐘫𐘬 𐘭𐘮𐘯 𐘰𐘱𐘲 𐘳𐘴𐘵 𐘶𐘷𐘸 𐘹 ○ 𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽
w.u g.î ui.i pú.u ku ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh[59]

[3] 𐘾𐘿𐙀 𐙁𐙂𐙃 𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇
k.em sỏ.or COMPOSE.a.ar[60]

[4] 𐙈𐙉 𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍 𐙎𐙏𐙐 𐙑 𐙒𐙓 𐙔𐙕𐙖 𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚 𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞 𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢 𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦 𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪 𐙫𐙬 𐙭𐙮 𐙯𐙰
GREAT t.iủ.rèn yủ.úr ai ai:en se.le.bo s.iau.qú tau.lí.a TEN ONE MONTH

𐙱𐙲𐙳 𐙴𐙵𐙶 𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺 𐙻𐙼 𐙽𐙾 𐙿𐚀 𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄 𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈
YELLOW êm.a ho.le.bun THREE DAY WHITE te.qo.a[61]

[5] 𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌 𐚍𐚎 𐚏𐚐𐚑 𐚒 𐚓𐚔𐚕 𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙 𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝 𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡 𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥 𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rèn.én ei.tủ.ji

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[59] Line 2: 𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮 𐘯𐘰 ‹ci.g.en u.ur› 'left division'; 𐘱𐘲 𐘳𐘴 𐘵𐘶 𐘷𐘸 𐘹𐘺 ‹ŋ.iú y.ên t.uŋ z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ› *yuyuan* 御院 *tongjin* 通進 *yinqing* 銀青; 𐘻𐘼𐘽 𐘾𐘿𐙀 𐙁𐙂 𐙃𐙄 𐙅𐙆 𐙇𐙈 𐙉𐙊 𐙋𐙌𐙍 𐙎𐙏𐙐 𐙑𐙒𐙓 𐙔𐙕𐙖 ‹cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai fu g.êm g.iau g.ui z.ï› *chonglu* 崇祿 *dafu* 大夫 *jianjiao* 檢校 *guozi* 國子 *jijiu* 祭酒: the titles of Yelü Gu: 'memorial forwarding grand master for exaulted happiness with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting chancellor of the national university of the imperial academy of the right administrative division, keeper of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*, director of the Hanlin academy, commandant of military cavalry of the imperial institute of the left division' The expression 𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚 𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞 𐙟 𐙠𐙡𐙢 ‹us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i› means 'official in charge of writing matters' The *Liaoshi* tells us that Yelü Gu was director of the Hanlin academy; this must be the Kitan equivalent. 𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦 𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪 𐙟 ‹261.zù DAY.i ui› 'imperial day GEN matters' = *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注; 𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚 𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞 𐙟 𐙠𐙡𐙢 ‹us.gi hur.ú.un ui› person in charge of written matters' 𐙫𐙬 𐙭𐙮 𐙯𐙰 𐙱𐙲 ‹w.ú g.î ui.i› *wujiwei* 武騎尉 'commandant of military cavalry' 𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶 𐙷𐙸 ‹pú.ú ku› 'official 臣 *chen*' 𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼 𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀 ‹ei.ra.ú.ud g.ú.uh› Yelü Gu 耶律固.

[60] Line 3: 𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄 ‹k.em› 'edict'; 𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈 ‹sỏ.or› 'receive, hear' PAST; 𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎 ‹COMPOSE.a.ar› Translation: 'Composed by imperial edict'

[61] Line 4: 𐚏𐚐𐚑 ‹GREAT› 𐚒𐚓𐚔[=𐚕𐚖]𐚗𐚘 ‹t.iủ.rèn› '大康 Da Kang (reign period)'; 𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜 ‹yủ.ur› 'initial, first' 𐚝 ‹ai› 'year' 𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡 ‹ai:en› 'year' GEN 𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥 ‹se.le.bo› 'order of years in the hexagenary cycle' 𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩 ‹s.iau.qú› 'blue' 𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭 ‹tau.lí.a› 'hare, rabbit' 𐚮 TEN 𐚯 ONE 𐚰 MONTH 𐚱 YELLOW 𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵 ‹êm.a› 'goat' 𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹 ‹ho.le.bun› 'first [period of the month' 𐚺 THREE 𐚻 DAY 𐚼 WHITE 𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀 ‹te.qo.a› 'cock, chicken' Translation: 'On the day of the white cock of the third day of the first period of the month of the yellow goat, the eleventh month of the year of the blue hare of the first year of the Dakang period.'

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[6] 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻
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[8] 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻 𗼻

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[9] 火吏 令丙刃 丑几夜矛 业反子丑丰 令刃刘夜 乔奕 业券 令金丙 平
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|[10] 令丙刃 邪丙券 父 穴方 乂土平艾 尿伏 天 女
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[11] 可爻 令圣木仆业为出 仆骨灭 曲爻 夜化 叔比只矛 又反 关艾 圣 乂仆令
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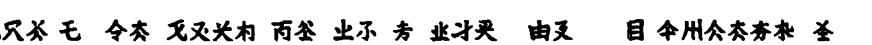
[65] Line 8: 叔金爻 ‹k.em.er› 'edict' ACC; 令生丙 ‹se.bu.ei› 'following (in accordance with); 乂火仉本丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› 'come' CAUS CONV; 火 ‹ui› 'affair, matter'; 可爻 ‹kė.er› 'bury PAST' 穴矢 ‹nai:de› 'head, official' LOC. Translation: 'issued an edict to the officials that that she be buried... the officials '

[66] Line 9: 月令 令勺 ‹TEXT.ú te.gu› 'the text says'

[67] Line 10: 令丙刃 ‹t.iu.rèn› 'virtue'; 邪丙券 ‹REGION.ei.e› cf. 邪为 'region'; 父 ‹HEAVEN›; 穴方 ‹neu.e› 'earth'; or 尿伏'eternal' (possibly 尿 'mountain, tomb, mountain tomb); 天 ‹SUN› 女 ‹MOON›; 丑 ‹qa› *'khan'*; 尔村 ‹qatun:en› *'khatun'* GEN; 公丰本与 ‹n.ai.c.én› 'harmony' 丙爻 ‹mó.er› 'mother' ACC? 几奕 ‹g.úr› 'state' 公尔刘 ‹n.ad.bú› (~ ‹bud›) *'nabo'*; 小廾矛 ‹siȯ.ú.ji› 'tribe(s)' (?) 丰艾 ‹ai.ún› 'father' (or 'year') 本土央 ‹c.eu.un› 'district' *(zhou)* GEN; 尤奕 ‹yȕ.ur› 'initial, first'; 令卡只平几 pu.kả.ủ.ul.gi (cf. 令卡 ‹pu.kả-› 'official title: prefect, magistrate' PASS/CAUS 令仆骨矢 ‹se.le.bo:de› 'order' LOC 几只平仆本与 ‹ku.ü.ul.le.ge:én (几只 ‹ku.ü- 'man, person, people; CAUS > 'to cause to be a man = to educate, to bring up' PAST; 本关乔村 ‹c.i.is.en› 'blood relation' GEN 丙爻 ‹mó.er› 'mother, female' 丑灭村 ‹qa.an:en› 'khan' GEN 令分廾矛 ‹ú.dû.ó.ji› 天 ‹DAY›. Translation: 'The virtuous (?) regions, heaven and earth mountain, sun and moon (day and month?) the *khan* and the *khatun* were in harmony, [she] as mother to the nation, the *nabos* and the tribes, [he] as father to the regions. She educated her relatives and the other women of the khan, in peace she was buried (?)...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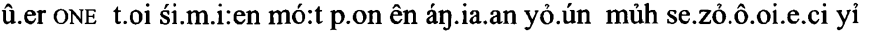
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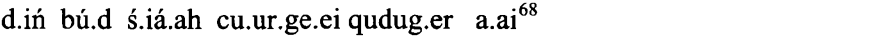
[13] 
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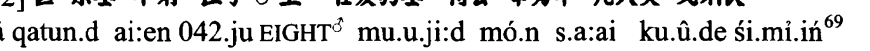
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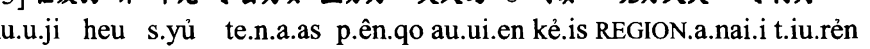
[14] 
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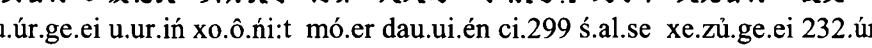
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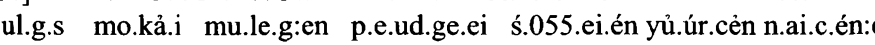
[68] Line 11:

[69] Line 12:

[70] Line 13:

[71] Line 14: 

[15] 𘮩𘮪𘮫𘮬𘮭 𘮮𘮯𘮰𘮱 𘮲𘮳𘮴 𘮵𘮶𘮷[丙?] ○ 𘮸𘮹𘮺 𘮻𘮼𘮽𘮾 𘮿𘯀𘯁𘯂 非
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[16] 𘯪𘯫𘯬𘯭𘯮 𘯯𘯰𘯱 𘯲 𘯳𘯴 𘯵𘯶𘯷 𘯸𘯹𘯺 𘯻𘯼𘯽 ○ 𘯾𘯿𘰀𘰁 𘰂𘰃𘰄 𘰅𘰆𘰇 𘰈𘰉𘰊 ○ 𘰋𘰌 𘰍𘰎
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[17] 𘰰𘰱𘰲𘰳𘰴 𘰵𘰶 𘰷𘰸𘰹𘰺 𘰻 𘰼𘰽𘰾 𘰿𘱀𘱁 𘱂𘱃𘱄 𘱅𘱆𘱇 ○
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[18]𘱧𘱨𘱩𘱪𘱫 𘱬𘱭𘱮𘱯𘱰 𘱱𘱲 𘱳𘱴𘱵 ○ 𘱶𘱷𘱸𘱹𘱺 𘱻𘱼𘱽𘱾 𘱿𘲀𘲁 𘲂𘲃𘲄
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[71] Line 14: 𘮪 FOUR 𘮵𘮶𘮷[=𘮸] t.iu.[rẻn] 'virtues'; 𘮻 ‹FIVE› 𘮼𘮽𘮾𘮿𘯀𘯁 ‹n.ai.d.le.hu.ad› 'harmony' PLUR; 𘯂𘯃𘯄 ‹ś.iá.ah› 'goodness' Translation: ' the four virtues and the five harmonies… goodness…' The alliteration 𘯅𘯆 𘯇𘯈 ‹mo.gi› ‹mo.gi› and 𘯉 𘯊 ‹mú› ‹mú› is reminiscent of lines from the *Book of Odes,* from which this might be a quotation.

[72] Line 15: 𘯋𘯌𘯍 ‹se.le.bo› 'order'; 非 ‹po› 'time'; 𘯏𘯐𘯑𘯒 ‹t.em.ei.én› 'granted a title'; 𘯓𘯔𘯕𘯖 ‹g.iu.uŋ:dú› 'palace' LOC. Translation: 'She was given honorary titles in the palace' (?)

[73] Line 16: 𘯗 ‹GOLD›; 𘯘𘯙 ‹go:t› 'tents' 𘯚𘯛[=丙?]𘯜 ‹t.iu.rẻn› 'virtue' Translation: 'Golden tents…'

[74] Line 17: 𘯝𘯞 ‹284.zủ› 'pertaining to emperor, imperial'; 𘯟 ‹GREAT› 𘯠𘯡 ‹YOUNG.qú› 'young'

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[19] 𐰃𐰺𐰃𐰽𐰃 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 ○ 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 ○ 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞
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[21] 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞
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[22] 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞 𐰃𐰞
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[75] Line 18: 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 ‹ku.ü.ul.bo.ń› 'adulthood (?) education (?)' 𐰃𐰞 ‹m.em› 'silver'; 𐰃 ‹NINE^{3}› 𐰃𐰞 ‹kẻ.er› 'bury' PAST; 𐰃 ‹jau› 'hundred'

[76] Line 19: 𐰃𐰞 ‹doro› 'ritual ~ ceremony ~ seal'; 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.án› 'peace' (?) 𐰃𐰞 ‹GREAT›; 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 ‹hu.as.al› 'misfortune, tragedy'; 𐰃𐰞 dả 'several'; 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 ‹ś.iá.ah› 'good'

[77] Line 20: 𐰃𐰞 ‹heu.un› 'empress' GEN; 𐰃𐰞 ‹kẻ.er› 'bury' PAST; 𐰃𐰞𐰃𐰞 ‹ku.ü.ul.ge› = 'man, person' = CAUS/PASS 'to educate' (?)'

[78] Line 21: 𐰃𐰞 ‹neu.e› 𐰃 ‹mó› 'earth mother' 𐰃𐰞 ‹dả:de› 'several' 𐰃𐰞 ‹g.ú› 'jade' (?) 𐰃𐰞 ‹ja.aŋ s.un ta.aŋ› Zhang Suntang (?) 𐰃𐰞 ‹COMPOSE.a.án› 'compose' PAST

[23] 𘮩𘮞𘮈𘮜 𘮃𘮈𘮜𘮘𘮈 𘮈𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞
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[24] 𘮩𘮞𘮈𘮜 𘮃𘮈𘮜𘮘𘮈 𘮈𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞
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[25] 𘮩𘮞𘮈𘮜 𘮃𘮈𘮜𘮘𘮈 𘮈𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞 𘮘𘮞 𘮘𘮈𘮞𘮞
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c.i.is[82]

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[79] Line 22: 𘮃𘮈𘮜 ‹neu.e› ‘earth’; 𘮃 ‹mó› ‘mother’; 𘮘 ‘seven’; 𘮘𘮞 ‹ui:de› ‘matter’ LOC; 𘮘𘮞 ‹doro:en› ‘ritual’ GEN; 𘮃𘮈𘮜 ‹mó.t.i› female PLUR GEN?; 𘮃𘮈𘮜 ‹mó.d:er› ‘female/wife’ PLUR ACC; 𘮘𘮞 ‹YOUNG.qú.er› ‘young’

[80] Line 23: 𘮘𘮞 ‹mu.u.ji:de› ‘sacred [one = emperor]’ LOC; 𘮘𘮞 ‹qudug› ‘good fortune’; 𘮘𘮞 ‹ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án› ‘peace’ SUFF; 𘮘𘮞 ‹s.en:en› ‘long life; also name Yixin’ GEN; 𘮘𘮞 ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge of’; 𘮘𘮞 ‹kẻ.ún› ‘bury’ PAST.

[81] Line 24: 𘮘𘮞 ‹343.bo› ‘wine’ (?); 𘮘𘮞 ‹x.ui.ri.bo.ń› ‘come’ SUFF; 𘮘𘮞 ‹jau.ji› ‘hundred’ (?); 𘮘𘮞 ‹g.en.ún.e› ‘sadness’; 𘮘𘮞 ‘time’ LOC 𘮘𘮞 ‹b.as.hu.án› ‘again’ (?); 𘮘𘮞 ‹doro› ‘ceremony’; 𘮘𘮞 ‹GREAT›; 𘮘𘮞 ‹g.en.ún› ‘sadness’; 𘮘𘮞 ‹k.ii.û.ji› ‘it is called’; 𘮘𘮞 ‹p.od.a.án› ‘be’ SUFF; 𘮘𘮞 ‹HEAVEN›.

[82] Line 25: 𘮘𘮞 ‹deu.úr.bo.ń› ‘together’(?) 𘮘𘮞 ‹xe.se.ge.le› ‘parts’ 𘮘𘮞 ‹siỏ› ‘tribes ~ south’ 𘮘𘮞 ‹yô› ‘black?’ 𘮘𘮞 ‹heu.úr› ‘spring’ 𘮘𘮞 ‹ś.eu.kả› ‘dew’ (?); 𘮘𘮞 ‘day’ LOC 𘮘𘮞

[26] 𒀀𒈾𒌋𒉡 𒌋𒄑𒆠 𒁹 𒁍𒋾 𒅗 𒉿𒌈𒊭 𒌋𒂵𒁕 𒅔𒆠𒍪𒁕 𒄑𒆠 𒄑𒆠 𒅁𒁕
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[27] 𒀉𒋗𒌋𒉡 𒀀 𒌋𒁕 𒅔𒄭 𒍪𒍪 𒋗𒆪𒄑𒆠𒌋𒉡 𒍪 𒄭𒂵 𒅎𒇻𒄭 𒀭 𒀀
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[28] 𒍪𒈾𒁹𒄭 ○ 𒉡𒌋 𒀉𒋗𒁍𒄭 𒉿𒌈𒆪 𒁹 𒍪𒍪 𒁍𒌋𒄑𒊭 𒀭𒁹 𒅎𒄑 𒅎𒄑𒄑𒊭 𒀀𒉿𒄭𒌈
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[29] 𒋾𒁹𒄭 𒄭𒋗 𒉿𒁹𒄭𒅆 𒉿𒁹𒄭𒅆 𒄭 𒆠 𒆠𒋗 𒋾𒅔𒄭 𒉿𒌈 𒅎𒄭𒁍[=𒄑𒁍𒁍] 𒁕
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‹n.am.úr› 'autumn'; 𒁕 ‹FOUR›; 𒉡𒄭 ‹po.dź› 'seasons'; 𒀀 ‹dà› 'several'; 𒋗𒄑𒄭 ‹c.i.is› 'blood relations'. 𒅔𒌈 𒄭‹yô.u lu› 'black dragon'

[83] Line 26: 𒅗 ‹GREAT›; 𒉿𒌈𒊭‹g.en.ún› 'sadness'; 𒁍𒋾𒅎𒍪𒌈 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› 'it is called'; 𒅔𒌈 ‹yô.u› 'black' 𒄭 ‹lu› 'dragon' 𒄑𒆠𒅎𒄑𒋗‹pu.kå.û.er› 'official, prefect' (?)

[84] Line 27: 𒀭 ‹bà› '*li*, Chinese mile' (?); 𒌋𒌈 ‹p.ú› 'servant' 𒋫 ‹doro› 'ritual ~ ceremony; 𒇻 ‹kú› 'man, person' 𒅗 ‹GREAT›; 𒉿𒌈𒊭 ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness' 𒁍𒋾𒅎𒍪𒌈 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› 'it is called' 𒀀 ‹GOLD› 𒉿𒁹‹ś.ên› 'new' 𒋗𒄖 ‹m.em› 'silver'

[85] Line 28: 𒉡𒌋 ‹COMPOSE.ai› 'compose' CONV 𒉿𒌈𒆪 ‹g.ú.un› 'jade' 𒅎 ‹KNOW› 'administrator' (?); 𒅗 ‹GREAT›; 𒉿𒌈𒊭 ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness' 𒁍𒋾𒅎𒍪𒌈 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› 'it is called'.

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[30] 𐘲𐘳[𐘴𐘵]𐘶 𐘷𐘸 𐘹 𐘺𐘻 𐘼 𐘽𐘾𐘻 𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂 𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙃 𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉 𐙊𐙋𐙌 𐙍
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6.9 Translation of Chinese text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi[88]

Composed by the official Zhang Lin, deputy military affairs commissioner, minister of the court of imperial ceremonies, deputy director of the state finance commission, state historiographer, senior military protector, dynasty founding duke, land grant noble granted two thousand households, noble granted two hundred households.

It was in the first year of the Dakang period, the order of the year was *yimou*. It was the eleventh month, *siwei*, the third day of the new month, *xinyou*.

The late Empress Yide died at Changqing river. She was buried with her ancestors at Zuling. In the first year of the Qiantong period, the year was *xinsi,* the sixth month, *gengyin,* the new moon, on the twenty third day, *renzi,* she was reburied in the Yongfu tomb with the appropriate rituals.

Along the route to the tomb, the wind was mournful, and clouds gathered in the open spaces around the city. The moon was in *wei*, the time was approaching *gui*. In accordance with the indications of the tortoise ink, an auspicious time was chosen.

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[86] Line 29: 𐘅𐘆𐘇 ‹neu.e› 'earth'; 𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌 ‹as.ar› 'quietness, peace'; 𐘍 ‹HEAVEN›; 𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔 ‹g.u› 'jade'; 𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘 【=𐘙𐘚𐘛】 ‹te.qo.a› 'cock'; 𐘝𐘞𐘟 ‹doro.i› seal ~ ritual GEN?; 𐘙 ‹te› PLUR (?) 𐘠 ‹GOLD♂› 'gold' (masculine); 𐘡𐘢𐘣 ‹hu.ho› 'bird ~ crow'; 𐘤 ‹po› 'time'; 𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪 xe.se.ge.le 'region' (?); 𐘫 ‹doro› 'ceremony ~ ritual' 𐘬𐘭𐘮 ‹car.a.iú› 'Cara' (personal name) DAT/LOC? (?); 𐘯𐘰𐘱 ‹RECORD.g.én› 'record, make a record, to carve an inscription on a stone' PAST 'Chara recorded this'

[87] Line 30: 𐘲𐘳[𐘴𐘵]𐘶 ‹us.gi› 'writing'; 𐘷𐘸 ‹ci.n› 'official' (臣 *chen*); 𐘼 ‹TEN THOUSAND› 'ten thousand'; 𐘽𐘾𐘻 ‹n.am.úr› 'autumn'; 𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂 ‹GREAT› 𐙎𐙏𐙐 ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness'; 𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜 ‹k.ii.û.ji› 'it is called'

[88] Translated from the Chinese stele. Text available in *Research*, pp. 546-551. Also in Chinggeltei 2002:124-126.

The imperial mausoleum was opened, the six vestments were folded, the curtains and tents were put away, the three offerings were completed, and the sacrificial vessels were removed. The scene was so sad; the imperial insignia were fluttering in the air, the banners blown about by the wind.

The chariot of the immortals departed, never to return. On this day, the engraved carriage bearing the coffin also departed along the same tracks. The dew on the pine and the catalpa was like limitless tears. The sounds of the bamboo pan-pipes and the reed leaf whistles pervaded the emptiness.
Yanxi, her filial grandson, having inherited the position of emperor, with sadness thought of restoring her position. His strong attachment for her, which he could not forget, made his wound even more painful. He gazed upwards, longing for the request in his heart. His respected father had left behind an edict, that they should be buried together.

The jade tablet with her posthumous name lit up the burial palace. Her pearl robes sparkled in the hall of darkness. The daytime had passed, the hour had moved on, the pure hanging lamps had frozen, the night had no sun. Her voice, her appearance, had disappeared forever. The night is so long. Because of the emperor's unprecedented favour, she will not be forgotten with the passing of time. According to the orders of the emperor, we praise her lasting fragrance. It is difficult to record all the events of her life, and her goodness cannot extolled by just a few examples.
Rhymed text:
In the past, only the sages were the equal of kindness and virtue.
From outside the corridors of the palace, she came from an external family.
After auspicious matching of stone characters, she received the appointment of Heaven.
Jade seals, emperor's gifts, ceremonial robes added to her ornament.
She helped the education of society; teaching the palace servants.
She never spread slander. Kind, beautiful, pure, humane, her nature was not ostentatious.
Deep, principled, demure and mature early in life, she was like the grasshopper in her freedom from jealousy, and kind to others like the trees in the south.
So rich she lived in rooms of gold, she still maintained a natural simplicity.
Respected by the Son of Heaven, she served all those around her.
Her piety unified the minds of the people; they rejoiced to be nourished as her children.
Making an example of herself to all under Heaven, they loved her as their exemplary mother.
She was noble but not arrogant, respectful and not conceited.

She was assiduous in the teaching of women, and an example for all women's activities.
In the rivers and islands, they praised her name.
They wrote of the lives of the women who lived in the pepper scented chambers and rode in vermillion carriages.
Her internal beauty, like the fragrance of orchids, manifested itself externally.
Like a flash of lightning, as her brilliant light approached, it added brightness to the sun.
Like the sky at sunset, her softness matched the emperor's might.
Comparable to the Queen of Zhou in humaneness, to the Queen of Yin in wisdom.
Her robes, her head ornaments were in accordance with the regulations.
The wind and stringed instruments, the silk and bamboo, conformed to elegant and correct standards. Her writings were natural, not artificially learned.
She was born with an understanding of the Law of Buddha.
Quiet and refined as a water plant, she moved with grace.
Her deportment was inherited from her ancestors, and she naturally followed the rules of decorum.
She should have expected a long life. But suddenly she returned to the fragrance of the immortals. The sacred mother loved the crown prince so much. Like a dragon having to leave behind a foal, like a phoenix turning her head, worried about her chicks.
So sad, there are no words to express it. The way of the spirits is hard to fathom.
The sky is grey, the cries heart-rending.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.
The great earth is broken, the moon carriage has left the tracks.
The tomb is full of fog and darkness. The mountains bereft, the flowing springs exhausted.
The ten thousand things cry out, the hundred souls express their misery.
Alas, alas, how sad it is.
The silver sea is cold. The imperial robes reflect in the darkness. The tinkling of her belt ornaments is no longer to be heard. Where is the gauze of the cloud chariots? Although her voice cannot be heard in the six palaces, it can be heard in the ear. Although her image cannot be seen among the nine tribes, it can be seen in the heart. Her time has gone, and she is separated far from the world. Her life will never happen again. The city is empty forever.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.

The leaves have fallen from the tree. The trees of autumn, the grass of spring: these were places she used to love. In the places where she would hold banquets, her spirit still lingers. Her kind face is still in front of us.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.
We recall how the emperor's favour was destroyed by a treacherous official. The calumnies of the green flies will be forgotten. The purity of white jade shines so precious. Like the sound of metal and stone, although silenced, it can be struck again. Like the sound of a bell, although muffled, it can become like new. Silk and gauze spreads like fragrant dust. After a thousand years, we will see her spirit and beauty in the ancestral palaces, and hear her voice again.
Alas, alas, how sad it is.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIAO CHINESE

> The founding of the Song Dynasty in 960 ended a long period of disunion in China. The national capital, Dongjing, was established at Kaifengfu in the Central Plains. This area remained the political and cultural center of the dynasty for 166 years. The conventional view today is that the standard language of the period was a Central Plains-based lingua franca or koine, probably centered in the Kaifeng-Luoyang area... There is, however, one further point with requires notice here. North of the Song lay the Khitan empire (907-1119) [...] In 937, before the founding of Song, the short-lived Jìn dynasty had ceded to the Khitans an area known as the Sixteen Prefectures, which correspond roughly to the northern part of modern Hebei Province. Despite a number of efforts, the Song were never able to retake this area, and it remained under Khitan control for approximately 200 years. The inhabitants of this territory were almost all Chinese [...] At the town of Youzhou they built a new administrative centre, called Nanjing, the southernmost of the five capitals of their state, to govern their new Chinese subjects. From this place, after many changes and vicissitudes, the modern city of Peking would eventually evolve. Now it is of some interest here that the large Chinese population of this region, which the Liao called the Southern Capital Circuit, was cut off from the Central Plains dialect area to the south for two centuries. Although we have no proof for it, we may speculate that in this linguistic rupture lie at least some of the beginnings of the distinctive type of north Chinese dialect which would later come to be associated with the Peking area and points to the northeast. – W, South Coblin 2007:15-16 (slightly modified).

7.1 The Chinese language beyond Hebei

We know very little of the type of Chinese spoken far north of Hebei during the Liao dynasty, or what type of Chinese was the basis of the many Chinese loanwords transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions. It *could* have been similar to the Chinese of the Tang capital, or its variants in the northwest of China during the late Tang and the post-Tang period. It *could* have been similar to the contemporary Song "prevalent speech of the central provinces" It *could* have been similar to the geographically closer dialects of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or the *Menggu ziyun*. On *a priori* grounds, we have little evidence one way or the other. What we can do, however, is to look at the varieties of Chinese in the sources listed above, and some others of about the same time,

to set up a number of characteristics one might expect a dialect of Chinese at that time and place to have. After this is has been done, we can compare these possible characteristics with the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.2 Northeastern China during the Late Tang

The Tang empire did not extend beyond the Great Wall in the east, and the southern bank of the Yellow River in the west. What sort of Chinese, if any, may have been spoken north of the Great Wall at that time is unknown. South of the Great Wall, and north of the Yellow River, lay the area broadly known as Hebei. Although part of the Tang empire, at least until the An Lushan rebellion, it was a remote and somewhat uncouth place, far from the cultural centres of the Tang. Even as early as 643, in the view of Chen Yinque, "north-eastern China, in particular Hebei province, was estranged from the Tang ruling house" (Wechsler 1979:200-201). He argued that "an influx of non-Chinese into Hebei from early in the eighth century had initiated a process by which, in the course of time, "barbarized society" in the northeast... The barbarian factor as seen by Chen Yinque, therefore, involves not merely An Lushan and the men under his command, but the population of a whole region". An alternative view proposed by Gu Jiguang and adapted by Pulleyblank "explain[s] the rebellion in the context of the long-standing alienation of Hebei (in the north-east) from the Tang court (in the north-west)" (Peterson 1979:471). Both views suggest a considerable degree of difference between Hebei and the rest of Tang China. With the disintegration of Tang power after the rebellion, the military commanders in the north-east asserted their independence, so that by 785 Youzhou, the province in the area of present day Beijing, was regarded as an autonomous province. Various attempts over the next few decades to reassert power in the northeast failed, and after 822 the Tang court made no further attempt to recover control in these areas. Writing in 831, the minister Niu Sengru wrote "since the Rebellion of An Lushan, Fanyang [i.e. Youzhou] has not been part of the empire." (Peterson 1979:548).

7.3 Possible altaic influence on Chinese

What all this means in linguistic terms is speculation. Norman 1982:243 noted "Northern China was controlled by dynasties of northern nomadic origin for a total of more than 800 years between the fourth and twentieth centuries. A majority of these northern rulers were of Altaic stock, generally speakers of either Mongolian or Tungusic. During this long period of contact between Chinese and Altaic, there was naturally a good deal of mutual

linguistic influence" Hashimoto 1980:160 suggested that "the basic typological features of the Chinese language stayed more or less intact until the end of the Tang period [...] this is the time the Chinese language underwent definite Altaicization in the northern part of its territory" According to Hashimoto 1986:95, "the way they developed this type of "pidgin Chinese" must be that these original Altaic residents accommodated into their mother tongue(s) the Chinese lexicon and morphology in their entirety, maintaining however their own syntax and perhaps most of their phonetics [...]."

In terms of dialect history and dialect geography, it seems reasonable to suggest that the type of Chinese spoken in Hebei even from the early Tang was likely to be subjected to the type of creolization described above, with subsequent differentiation from the "Tang standard" of Chang'an. This process must have increased as the north-eastern provinces became politically autonomous to the point where by 831, "Youzhou was no longer part of the empire" We can then hypothesize that the differentiation of the Chinese spoken north of the Yellow River was underway long before 937, when the Sixteen Prefectures were annexed. Northern Chinese had been developing at least semi-independently from "the dialect of the central plains" for at least 300 years before that date, and, as Coblin pointed out, for two centuries afterward. Against all this, perhaps educated Kitans did not speak the creole of the masses (if such a language existed) but something close to "standard Chinese", which at that time meant the language of the Song capital, Kaifeng. This is a hypothesis we can check against the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.4 Middle Chinese

Middle Chinese is based on the initials and finals in the *Qieyun* 切韻, compiled between 581 and 601. All the evidence is that Tang Standard Chinese, roughly understood as the language spoken by the educated classes in the capital, differed from the *Qieyun* in various ways, but that it was very similar to it. Even if one argues that there were many varieties of Chinese spoken by educated people throughout the empire, it seems likely they were close to the *Qieyun,* even if they differed in some minor ways. It is common to discuss earlier stages of Chinese according to the traditional names of the initials, finals and rhyme groups and rhyme categories. However, as Coblin 2007:xii commented, Chinese historical phonology "is a curious and often vexatious discipline [...] It seems clear that the field of Chinese historical phonology as it is practiced today is so peculiar and exacting that it lies essentially beyond the reach both of sinologists who have not received

specialized training in it and of the broad range of historical linguists who might wish to familiarize themselves with it [...] Pre-modern Chinese phonology remains for most non-specialist readers a closed book." It is simpler, and clearer, to list the initials and finals of Middle Chinese in transcription, without reference to the traditional terms for initials and finals. Phonetic values of the initials and finals were worked out by Karlgren and others over a period of decades, based mainly on reflexes in the modern dialects. It is now more common to employ transcriptions with digraphs instead of diacritics and special letters, and to regard the transcription as being "phonemic along phonetic lines" rather than narrowly phonetic. Recently Baxter 1992, Branner 1999 and others have suggested that a romanized form of the *Qieyun* be regarded as a *transcription* rather than a phonetic reconstruction. The transcription used here is similar to Baxter's but it is easier to write and easier to remember, and helps to make the process of phonological change more evident.

7.5 Synoptic chart of transcription symbols for MC initials

1	見 k	溪 kh	群 g	疑 ŋ	日 ny
2	端 t	透 th	定 d	泥 n	來 l
3	幫 p	滂 ph	並 b	明 m	
4	非 f	敷 fh	奉 v	微 mv	
5	精 c	清 ch	從 j	心 s	邪 z
6	知 tr	徹 thr	澄 dr	娘 nr	
7	莊 tsr	初 tshr	崇 dzr	生 shr	俟 zhr
8	章 tsy	昌 tshy	船 dzy	書 sy	禪 zy
9	照 cr	穿 chr	牀 jr	審 sr	禪 zr
10	影 q	曉 x	匣 h	云 hi,以 øi	喻 y

This chart shows proposed transcription symbols for the Chinese terms used for the initials of both Early and Late Middle Chinese. Row 4, the labiodentals, emerged as a group distinct from the labial stops of line 3 in the late Tang, when piu > fu. This change did not occur in all cases; the details are complex and not relevant to the present discussion. On the other hand, the EMC initials in rows 7 and 8 merged to form a new series in LMC, line 9. In line 10, hi- and øi- merged to form y- by LMC.

7.6 Transcription of MC finals

哥 a	泰 ai	豪 au	寒 an	曷 at	譚 am	蓋 ap	鐸 ak	唐 aŋ
戈 ua	祭 iai	宵 iau	仙 ian	薛 iat	鹽 iam	葉 iap	藥 iak	陽 iaŋ
麻 ae	夬 aei	肴 aeu	刪 aen	鎩 aet	銜 aem	狎 aep	陌 aek	庚 aeŋ
佳 ea	皆 eai		山 ean	黠 eat	咸 eam	洽 eap	麥 eak	耕 eaŋ
灰 uei	咍 ei	侯 eu	痕 en	沒 et	覃 em	合 ep	德 ek	登 eŋ
之 ie	微 iei	尤 ieu	欣 ien	迄 iet	嚴 iam	業 iap	職 iek	蒸 ieŋ
支 i	脂 ii	虞 iu	真 in	質 it	侵 im	緝 ip	昔 ik	清 iŋ
		幽 iou	諄 uin	術 uit	臻 iin	櫛 iit		
	齊 eei	蕭 eeu	先 een	屑 eet	添 eem	帖 eep	錫 eek	青 eeŋ
			桓 uan	末 uat			沃 ok	冬 oŋ
	魚 io	廢 ioi	元 ion	月 iot			燭 iok	種 ioŋ
模 u	虞 iu	幽 iou	魂 uen	沒 uet			屋 uk	東 uŋ
			文 iun	物 iut	凡 iuom	乏 iuop	覺 aok	江 aoŋ

This chart shows the transcription symbols used for the rhymes of EMC, which were reproduced in the rhyme tables, but reorganised into rhyme groups.

7.7 The rhyme groups of LMC

果 a	止 i	曾 eng	山 an
假 ae	效 au	梗 ing	臻 en
遇 u	流 eu	江 aong	咸 am
蟹 ai	宕 ang	通 ung	深 em

These are merely tags to indicate a rhyme group: the rhyme group *-ang,* for example, includes the rhymes *-ang, -iang* and *-uang.* The phonetic interpretations of the arrangement of the rhymes into various rhyme groups is not certain. In the earlier period, the rhymes seem to have had different vowels; in the later period, they seem to be differentiated by different medials, or perhaps a combination of different vowels and different medials. The nasal endings incorporate the stop finals: *an* and *en* also contain rhymes in *at* and *et*, *am* and *em* contain rhymes in *ap* and *em*, rhymes in *ang* and *eng* contain rhymes in *ak* and *ek*.

7.8 Late Tang North-western Chinese

Tibetan transcriptions of the Hexi dialect of the ninth and tenth centuries have been found at Dunhuang. They were first systematically studied by Luo Changpei 1933, and by many others since. Coblin 1994 is a thorough study of these transcriptions, incorporating a wide variety of related material. In his review of the related literature, Jiang Shaoyu 2005 summarised the characteristics of late Tang north-western Chinese:

(1) there was some indication of the emergence of labiodentals
(2) some voiced initials had become voiceless.
(3) *m* and *n* were read *'b 'd* in syllables with non-nasal finals
(4) there was some simplification of the vowel system
(5) in the *ing* and *ang* rhyme groups, the final *ŋ* was not pronounced
(6) in words with voiced initials, the rising tone had become a departing tone

Jiang Shaoyu concluded that the language of Chang'an under the Tang was a variety of the Hexi dialect. Denasalization and the dropping of the final *ŋ* were restricted to the north-west, while other tendencies outlined above can be seen in texts from other parts of China. Zhou Zumo, in his study of the rhymes in the rhymed texts found in Dunhuang, distinguished 23 finals, slightly different from Luo Changpei's 23 finals based on the Tibetan transcriptions. He compared these 23 finals with the sixteen rhyme groups of the *Sisheng dengzi,* and found that, apart from the Dunhuang texts not distinguishing *aŋ* and *aoŋ, ak* and *aok*, there was structurally no difference between them. Zhou concluded that the vowel system of modern northern dialects can be directly derived from the 23 rhyme groups of the Dunhuang texts and the *Sisheng dengzi.* This is of particular relevance to the type of northern Chinese spoken during the Liao period.

7.9 The *Sisheng dengzi*

Zhou Zumo pointed out the similarity of the finals of the late Tang north-western dialects and the 四聲等子 *Sisheng dengzi.* This rhyme table is of particular interest because of its possible origin in the Chinese speaking areas of the Liao empire. According to its (undated) preface, "Recently we have re-edited the *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑 [Hand Mirror of the Dragon Niche] and placed it in the last bound volumes of the *Tripitaka.* But considering that the dialects are not united, [varieties of] labials and [varieties of] sibilants and affricates are mixed. Some sounds which should be distinct are treated as if they were identical and some characters are

borrowed to write other characters. How can one know how to assign the initials and harmonise the tones? How can one know what is standard? So we have appended this [table] to the *Longkan shoujian.* Looking through the tables one can discern the structure, there will be no trepidation or confusion. Then one can pronounce the word accurately. We hope that all our readers will consult it." The *Longkan shoujian*, more commonly known as the *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡, is a reference work on the Buddhist classics. According to its preface, dated 997, it was compiled by a Liao monk, Xing Jun. It contains many unusual characters, with *fanqie* annotations. The *fanqie* were taken from a variety of sources and reflect late Tang Chinese, and do not directly concern us here. Shen Gua, in his *Mengqi bitan* 夢溪筆談, wrote "books were strictly controlled. If anyone imported them into the central states the law was that they were punishable by death. In the Xining period (1068-1077) a copy [of the *Sisheng dengzi*] was obtained from someone who surrendered..." Li Xinkui 1983:180 noted that the *Sisheng dengzi* refers to 206 rhymes, which must date it after the *Guangyun* of 1008. He also noticed that it does not distinguish the later *Zhongyuan yinyun* finals *ie* < *ia,* or *ï* < *i* after initial dental sibilants. In this it is similar to the rhymes in Liao poetry. Both geographically and chronologically, it falls within the Liao period.

In the *Sisheng dengzi* we still find a three way distinction between [k], [kh] and [g], and the other stops and affricates. Karlgren argued that the voiced initials in MC were aspirated, but later analyses treat them as unaspirated. On transcriptional evidence, Pulleyblank 1988 treated the initials of what he called Late Middle Chinese (the language of the Song rhyme tables) as being unvoiced but followed by voiced aspiration.

The *Sisheng dengzi* arranged the finals of MC into sixteen rhyme groups. Within the rhyme groups, finals are arranged in four grades. Other sources indicate that the "real language" of the time could not have been very different from the language implied in the initials, rhyme groups and grades of the *Sisheng dengzi.*

7.10 The *Qieyun zhizhangtu*

The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* 切韻指掌圖 is dated 1176-1203. It is similar to the *Sisheng dengzi,* but with an important difference: words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were listed under Grade 1, not Grade 3 rhymes. This implies that the vowel was no longer [i], but a non-palatal vowel, the [ï] of Mandarin. EMC *tsy* and *tsr* had merged to *cr* by the LMC of the *Sisheng dengzi.* The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* indicates that *tr* and *cr* (and the corresponding voiced and aspirated initials) had also merged. Final *t* and *k* had merged, but final *p* remained in a category of its own. At some time

between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries back [ɑ] became [ɔ], while front *ae* > *ia*. So 歌 *ka* > *ko*, but 家 *kae* > *kia*. The earlier rhyme tables kept the rhymes in their original *Qieyun* order. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* reorganised the categories in ways which could only have reflected changes in the actual language. For instance, the *Yunjing* and the *Qiyinlüe* list the final *-aong* after *-ong, -ung* and *-iong*. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* list it after *ang* and *iang*. This indicates that *aong* had become closer to *-ang* than *-ong*. Kitan transcriptions show that MC *aong* and MC *ang* were transcribed the same: ‹aŋ›. The approximate date of the *Yunjing* is c. 1000. The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* preface is dated 1203. The *Sisheng dengzi* is dated between 1127 and 1279.

7.11 The *Huangji jingshi shu*

The *Huangji jingshi shu* is a numerological and cosmological text by Shao Yong (1011-1077). Among other things, phonological categories such as initials, finals and tones are related to various aspects of the universe. The relevant section is called *lülü shengyin* "matching the odd number pitch pipes and the even number pitch pipes, the rhymes and initials", that is, how initials and finals are combined to form syllables. Its value is precisely in its unorthodox approach: Shao Yong did not copy his information from earlier charts, he relied on the way he pronounced the characters himself. It is generally regarded as providing reliable information about the pronunciation at the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng. However, Yakhontov 1980 made a case for it representing the language of Fanyang (Beijing), on the grounds that the treatment of MC final *k*, resulting in diphthongs, is characteristic of the *Zhongyuan yinyun*. It is also characteristic of the Kitan transcriptions. Fanyang was well within the Chinese speaking part of Liao territory.

Zhou Zumo 1966 concluded that by this stage the voiced stops and affricates had become voiceless. *Level tone* words beginning with MC *b d g j jr* (which may have been aspirated in LMC: [bh], [dh] [gh]) are listed with their aspirated voiceless equivalents. *Non-level tone* words beginning with MC voiced stops and affricates had become unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates. This is the same pattern as the *Zhongyuan yinyun* and Mandarin, but differs from the more or less contemporary Xixia transcriptions. This latter pattern also occurs in modern dialects, in particular Kejia (Hakka) and Gan.

In the earlier tables, *tr thr dr* are listed below *t th d*. In Shao Yong's charts, however, they are listed under *cr chr jr*. This suggests the earlier postdentals and the affricates had already merged, as other Song materials indicate. Words like 自 *jii,* 思 *si* and 寺 *zii* are in Grade 1, suggesting the

nonpalatal [ï] after dental sibilants (but not affricates) already indicated in the *Qieyun zhizhangtu*. Characters such as 日 *nyit* 骨 *kuet* 德 *tek* 北 *pek* are listed in the same line as open syllables, but are kept separate from them. This is rather similar to the arrangement of such syllables in the *Zhongyuan yinyun*. Liao poetry also suggests the two series (open vowel and final glottal stop) were kept separate.

7.12 The *fanqie* spellings of Zhu Xi

The *Shijingzhuan* [Annotations to the *Book of Poetry*] was compiled by the philosopher Zhu Xi in 1177. The rhymes in the *Book of Poetry,* compiled about 700 BC, did not correspond to the rhymes of the *Qieyun*. It was not until the Qing that phonologists started the process of analysing the language of the *Book of Poetry* in its own terms. During the Song, if words did not rhyme, annotators would note "here pronounced such and such", and give the changed reading in *fanqie* "reversed cutting" This process was known as *xieyin* "harmonising the sounds" For example, Zhu Xi gives the following *fanqie* spellings (using MC for convenience): 諸延 *cyo-yen* for 展 *trien,* 薄救 *bak-kiu* for 報 *pau,* 丁五 *teeng-ngu* for 圖 *du,* 此里 *chie-li* for 在 *jei,* 居亦 *kio-yeek* for 局 *giok,* 許例 *xio-liet* for 褐 *hat*. The confusion between the former voiced and voiceless initials indicates that voicing was no longer phonemic and the former voiced initials *b d g z dr j* were lost to the system.

In the finals, words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were changed to rhyme with other finals in *i*. If they had rhymed in the first place, they would not have been changed. The implication is that the vowel in this position had become [ï]. Final *t* and *k* are merged. There are no examples of final *p* merging with *t* or *k* in the annotations to the *Book of Poetry*, but elsewhere Zhu Xi rhymes 折 *cyet,* 白 *baek,* 客 *khaek,* 隔 *keak* and 蝶 *deep*. It is clear that by this stage *p t k* had coalesced.

7.13 Rhymes in Northern Song poetry

This summary is based on Zhu Jianing 1992: 436-442, Wang Li 1988:260-307 and Zhou Zumo 1966:656-662.

(1) MC *a* > o; MC *ae* > a
(2) MC *i ii ie, iei, iai, ioi eei* > i
(3) MC *ei uei ai eai ea aei iai ioi* > ai/uai
(4) MC *io, iu, ieu* > u/iu
(5) MC *ieu, eu, iou* > eu/ieu
(6) MC *eeu, iau, aeu, au* > au/iau

(7) MC *aoŋ, aŋ, iaŋ* > aŋ/iaŋ
(8) MC *aeŋ, eaŋ, iŋ, eeŋ, ieŋ, eŋ* > eŋ (Liao [iŋ])
(9) MC *uŋ , oŋ, ioŋ* > uŋ
(10) MC *an, uan, aen, ean, een, ian, ion* > an
(11) MC *en, uen, in, uin, iin, ien, iun* > en
(12) MC *em, am, iam, eem, eam, aem, iam, iuom* > am
(13) MC im >im

Su Dongpo rhymed 客 *khaek,* 雪 *siuet,* 石 *jyek,* 隔 *keak,* 必 *byit,* 白 *baek,* 覓 *meek* and 睫 *jiep.* Qiang Baishi rhymed 答 *tep* and 襪 *myet.* Zhang Yutian rhymed 末 *mat,* 答 *tep,* 壓 *qaep,* 髮 *piet,* 沒 *muet* and 發 *piet.* Zhou Bangyan rhymed 軋 *qeat,* 閱 *yuet,* 葉 *yep* and 怯 *khiep.* Zhu Xizhen rhymed 日 *nyit,* 湿 *syip,* 客 *khaek* and 得 *tek.* None of these words, however, rhyme with open syllables.

7.14 Xixia transcriptions

Another source for northern Chinese of about the same time are the Xixia transcriptions. These have been analysed in detail in Gong Huangcheng 1995a and 1995b. Basing his study on the Xixia transcriptions of Chinese words in the *Fan-Han heshi zhangzhongzhu* (1190), Gong concluded that the dialect in question had the following initials and finals:

Initials

p	ph	m/mb	f		w
t	th	n/nd	l		
k	kh	ŋ/ŋg	x		
ts	tsh		s		
tś	tśh	ń/ńdź	ś	ź	j

Note the characteristic *mb nd ŋg ńdź* initials, also seen in the earlier materials studied by Luo and Coblin, presumably limited geographically to the north-west. We also find *f* and *w* (not *v*), and palatal, not retroflex affricates.

Finals

i ɨ	u	ĩ	ũ
e ə	o	ə̃	
a		ã	

There is no sign of MC *p t k* even in the form of a glottal stop. MC *m n ŋ* had fallen, leaving a nasalised vowel. The vowel *ɨ* appears after dental sibilants and affricates. However, after the palatal affricates [i] remains. There is no contrast between voiced and voiceless initials. Basing himself on much the same material, however, Li Fanwen 1994 still transcribed Chinese syllables with MC *p t k* with ʔ, because the Tibetan transcription of such characters either had an open vowel, or a final <h̲>. Li felt the occasional use of <h̲> was indicative of a final ʔ.

7.15 The *Zhongyuan yinyun*

The *Zhongyuan yinyun* was published in 1324. Zhou Deqing remarked that "despite the fact that the nation had been united for some time and the language of the central plains had spread throughout the nation, too many people were still relying on outdated books such as the *Guangyun*". (Schlepp 1991:229). It contains more than 5000 characters, arranged according to the rhyming practice of the *beiqu* 'northern songs'

The characters are divided into nineteen groups, which are named according to two characters of each rhyme group. Zhou Deqing noted, "of the four traditional tones - level, rising, departing, entering there is no entering tone in the *Zhongyuan yinyun,* which has been distributed amongst the other tones [...]." However, later Zhou says, "Those who distribute the entering tones amongst the level, rising and departing tones broaden their rhymes, which is useful for writing *beiqu.* However, in the spoken language, the entering tone is still distinguished." Zhou Deqing was from the south, and this is interpreted as meaning that in his own dialect, as distinct from the language of the *beiqu*, there was still an entering tone.

Zhongyuan yinyun					Mandarin (*pinyin transcription)*			
p	ph	m	f	v	b	p	m	f
t	th	n	l		d	t	n	l
ts	tsh	s			z	c	s	
tš	tšh	š	ř		zh	ch	sh	r
					j	q	x	
k	kh	x	ŋ		g	k	h	ø
y	w				y	w		

The initials reconstructed by various investigators are much the same. Dong Tonghe considers there was no phonemic difference between *ø* and *ŋ*. The column on the right gives the equivalents in modern Mandarin, in *pinyin.*

The ZYYY lacks the Mandarin palatals *j q x*, which did not develop until much later. ZYYY *v* < MC *miu-* and ZYYY *w* < MC *hyu-*. ZYYY *tš tšh š* correspond to the modern Mandarin retroflexes *zh ch sh*. Some scholars are reluctant to consider these initials retroflexes in the ZYYY, because they also occur before *i*. The evolution from MC *ny* to Mandarin *r* is a complex one. In Kitan it was written 𘤽 ‹ź›, a modified form of 𘤼 ‹ś›, so we can presume it was pronounced [ž] in the Liao period.

The distribution of characters under the upper and lower level tones indicates a pattern similar to Mandarin. MC voiced initials *b d g* had become voiceless, joining the unaspirated MC initials *p t k* in the upper level tone, and the aspirated MC initials *ph th kh* in the lower level tone. There was not a three way contrast in initial stops and affricates in the ZYYY.

7.16 The *Menggu ziyun*

The *Menggu ziyun* has recently been exhaustively studied in Coblin 2007. The 'Phags-pa script was completed in 1269, over 300 years after the creation of the Kitan small script in 925 and a century and a half after the fall of the Liao, so it is not so relevant to our discussion of Liao Chinese. However, we can briefly review its characteristics for comparative purposes.

Initials

p	ph	b	m	f	v	ʊ	
t	th	d	n	ɳ	l		
ts	tsh	dz			s	z	
tʂ	tʂ	dʐ					
k	kh	g	ŋ	ʔ	x	ɣ	ɦ
ø							

This list shows a three way contrast between *t th d, k kh g* and so on, as in MC, not as in the ZYYY. Song rhyme tables also show a three way contrast. Shao Yong and Zhu Xi indicate a two way contrast. Coblin interprets the 'Phags-pa <w> as [v]. 'Phags-pa indicates an initial *ŋ* and a marginal initial ø.

In Coblin's transcription, the main vowels are *i u ɿ ɻ ɛ ə ɔ a ɑ;* medials are *y, j* and *w*, codas are *j w ĕ n ŋ m*. The four grades are indicated as *kan kjan kɐn* and *kjɐn*, implying a difference in vowel quality between Grades 1/2 and Grades 3/4. Syllables in Mandarin *uan* such as *guan* 'official' are spelled <gon>. There is no indication of a final glottal stop in the

orthography, but Coblin suggests southern speakers may have "read" a syllable such as <baw> as /baw?/ [bɔ?].

7.17 Uighur and Xixia transcriptions of Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 studied the Kitan transcription of Chinese words in the *Liaoshi* and elsewhere. He concludes that there are 21 finals in this variety of Chinese: *a e ue o io ɔ i ui ai am em an en in un iun aŋ iaŋ uaŋ iŋ oŋ*. He goes on to compare three types of related material: the Uighur translation of the *Biography of Xuanzang* (10th century), the Xixia-Chinese glossary *The Timely Pearl* (12th century) and Shao Yong's *Huangji jingshi shu* (11th century Kaifeng-Luoyang). He concluded that the Xixia dialect mixes *f* and *xu*, but the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; the Xixia dialect mixes *n* and *l*, the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect do not; the Uighur dialect shows the loss of final *ŋ*, and the Xixia materials also show such examples, but not the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; in the Xixia dialect the final *p t k* have been entirely lost, in the Uighur dialect they were preserved quite well, in the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect *k* and *t* have been lost, but *p* remained. In the Kitan dialect *t* and *k* have been lost; there are no examples of *p*.

7.18 Kitan and hP'agspa transcriptions of Liao-Yuan Chinese

Shen Zhongwei 2007 is a study on hP'ags-pa transcriptions and Kitan transcriptions. The hP'ags-pa script was devised in 1269; the *Menggu ziyun,* which provides the hP'ags-pa spellings for this study, is thought to date from 1308. This is almost 400 years after the creation of the Kitan scripts. It represents quite a different variety of Chinese from the *Zhongyuan yinyun,* dated 1324, which, as we have seen, is quite close to the language of the Kitan transcriptions. Nevertheless, the phonetic values Shen derives from his study are very similar to the transcriptions used for Kitan graphs in this book. The main difference is transcriptional: Shen uses IPA type transcriptions, so 𗱷 is [p] rather than ‹b›, 𗱸 is [ph] rather than ‹p›. The other main difference is the notation for the transcription of Chinese medials: Shen writes ‹œ› for 𗴲 ‹y› and ‹œ:› for 𗴳 ‹ü›. He notes that 𗴴‹î› and 𗴵 ‹ú› may have been long vowels. A comparison of Shen's readings with the transcriptions used in this book are as follows.

p	𗱷,𗱹	‹b›	ph	𗱸	‹p›	m	𗱺	‹m›	υ	𗱻	‹w›
t	𗱼	‹d›	th	𗱽	‹t›	n	𗱾	‹n›	l	𗱿	‹l›
ts	𗲀	‹z›	s	𗲁	‹s›						

tʃ	朱	‹c›	ʃ	戈	‹ś›	j	丙	‹ei›	ɻ	戈	‹ź›
k	凡	‹g›	kh	乂	‹k›	ŋ	堂	‹ŋ›	x	北	‹ho›
a	为	‹a›	i	关	‹i›	u	永	‹u›	ɛ	交	‹ei›
ɔ	反	‹o›	œ	奂,女	‹y›		火	‹iú›	i:	峯	‹î›
u:	分	‹ú›	ɨ	谷,吞	‹ï›	œ:	仲	‹ü›			
aŋ	兔	‹aŋ›	iŋ	用	‹iŋ›	uŋ	术,太	‹uŋ›	ɛŋ	並,母	‹iáŋ›
ɔŋ	点	‹oŋ›	yŋ	凡	‹iúŋ›	əŋ	堂	‹ŋ›	u:ŋ	当	‹úŋ›
aj	丰	‹ai›	uj	尖	‹ui›	ɛj	余,东	‹ah›	ɔj	太	‹oi›
œj	券,券	‹e›	əj	丙	‹ei›						
aw	夬	‹au›	iw	丙	‹iu›	ɛw	考	‹io›	əw	去	‹eu›
am	乃	‹am›	im	及	‹m›	ɛm	荅	‹êm›	əm	金	‹em›
an	灵	‹an›	in	雨	‹in›	un	火	‹un›	ɛn	寿	‹ên›
ɔn	尔	‹on›	œn	虫	‹üen›	yn	亦	‹ün›	ən	村	‹en›
						yŋ	凡	‹iúŋ›	əŋ	堂	‹ŋ›

7.19 Rhymes in Liao poetry

There are many studies of Song and Yuan rhymes, but few deal with the Liao and Jin periods. An exception is Lu Guoyao 1994, which compares the rhymes of 11 poets over a period of 300 years. Lu's conclusion was that the Chinese of the early Jin period was similar to that of the Song, and that considerable changes in northern Chinese began about 1200. Lu did not include any rhymes from the Liao. Of more relevance to our present concerns is Ding Zhimin 2006. His study of the rhymes in Liao poetry is based on the material in Chen Shu 1982. This collection includes 78 poems, 6 imperial epitaphs, 57 other epitaphs and other rhymes, with 421 characters in rhyming position. 109 authors are represented, but those for whom dates are available are the following thirteen:

Yelü Bei	909-946	Shangjing
Liao Shengzong	971-1031	Shangjing
Liao Xingzong	1014-1055	Shangjing
Liao Daozong	1032-1101	Shangjing
Yang Jie	fl. 1106	Nanjing
Wang Shiru	1039-1101	Fanyang
Wang Ding	d. 1106	Zhuozhou
Yelü Yan	d. 1113	Zhejin
Zhang Lin	d. 1122	Shenzhou
Yu Zhongwen	d. 1123	Wuzhou
Zhang Jian	963-1053	Nanjing

Zhang (Yelü) Xiaojie	fl. 1067	Jianzhou
Han Fang	1082-1149	Yanjing

While in itself this is a small sample, in the context of the rhymes in poetry of the Song and Jin periods, the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables and the rhyme categories of the ZYYY, it can provide a reasonable overview of the rhyming patterns during the Liao.

Supplementing Lu Guoyao's study, Ding Zhimin 2006:163 concluded that "from the seventh to the thirteenth century, the rhymes of "old style" poems written in the Beijing area can be divided into two stages: the Tang and Five Dynasties period (nearly 300 years), and the Liao Jin Yuan period (about 300 years). The changes in rhyming categories are greatest between the Tang and Five dynasties period on the one hand, and the Liao Jin Yuan period on the other. The 31 groups of the Tang and Five dynasties period evolved into 19 groups by the Liao and Song period. The 19 groups of the Liao and the 18 groups of the Jin basically do not show any changes. The general tendency of the "new style" poetry is much the same." That is to say, noticeable changes in rhyming patterns can be discerned about 1000-1100.

The table below is from Ding Zhimin 2006:163. The first column indicates the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables. The second lists the rhymes of the Late Tang and Post Tang periods of poets from the Beijing, or more generally, the Hebei area, given in MC. The third is based on the sources collected in Chen Shu 1982. From these Ding Zhimin extracted 19 rhyme groups: 14 with open syllables, compared to 19 in the ZYYY, and 5 extra groups with final ?. The fourth and fifth columns are based on analysis of Jin and Song poetry from the same area, and the sixth gives the nineteen groups of the ZYYY. The Liao sample itself may be relatively small, but it is clear that there is great similarity between the Liao, Jin and Song groups, but that the differences between the late Tang and post Tang rhymes and the Liao groups is considerable. Although relatively few, the structural similarity of the Liao rhyme groups to the finals of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* suggests the readings are likely to be at least approximately correct.

7.20 Development of rhyme groups from Late Tang to Yuan

Group (攝)	Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song	Yuan
通	東種	東種	東種	東種	東種
止	支微	支微	支微	支微	支思
蟹	齊祭	支微	支微	支微	齊微
遇	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模

蟹	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來
臻	真諄	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	文欣	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	魂痕	真文	真文	真文	真文
山	寒桓	寒先	寒先	寒先	寒山
山	山刪	寒先	寒先	寒先	桓歡
山	仙先	寒先	寒先	寒先	先天
效	豪高	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	交肴	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	蕭宵	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
果	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	車遮
梗	庚青	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚清
梗	蒸登	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸
江	江陽	江陽	陽唐	江陽	江陽
江	江陽	江陽	江雙	江陽	江陽
流	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯
深	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	監咸
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	廉纖
山入	曷屑	月業	月業	月業	
深入	葉帖	月業	月業	月業	
曾入	德職	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	陌昔	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	緝邑	質沒	德質	德質	
深入	質沒	質沒	德質	德質	
通入	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	
通入	鐸藥	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	
江入	覺學	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	

What this table tells us is that there were 19 final groups in Liao poetry. The *approximate* values of these groups, and characters which represent a particular rhyme, were probably as follows:

7.21 Finals in Liao Chinese

On the basis of the rhymes set out above, we can set up a preliminary framework for the finals of Liao Chinese.

(1) a

Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 華 *hua*, 家 *jia*, 嘉 *jia*
Shengzong epitaph: 夏 *xia*, 化 *hua*, 下 *xia*, 亞 *ya*

馬	*ma*	mae	又为	‹ma›
察	*cha*	chreat	丽	‹ca›
家	*jia*	kae	几寸	‹g.ia›
家	*jia*	kae	又寸	‹x.ia›
夏	*xia*	hae	不寸	‹xa.ia›
下	*xia*	hae	不寸	‹xa.ia›

(2) o

Daozong epitaph: 科 *ke* 莪 *e* 歌 *ge* 河 *he* (Liao [ɔ])
Yixingming epitaph: 訶 *he*, 它 *ta*, 可 *ke*

博	*bo*	pak	爿里	‹b.oh›
左	*zuo*	ca	𠂇反	‹s.o›
左	*zuo*	ca	𠂇反	‹z.o›
和	*he*	hua	夾	‹xo›

(3) i

Dong Yang qi Zhang-shi epitaph: 閨 *gui* 儀 *yi* 彝 *yi* 詩 *shi* 慈 *ci* 移 *yi* 淒 *qi*
Wang Ze epitaph: 氣 *qi*, 邃 *sui*, 位 *wei*, 吏 *li* 使 *shi* 制 *zhi* 遂 *sui* 止 *zhi* 第 *di* 理 *li* 此 *ci* 利 *li* 吹 *chui* 悌 *ti* 弟 *di* 歲 *sui* 里 *li* 水 *shui* 墜 *zhui*

持	chi	dri	朱关	‹c.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	𠂇关	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	𠂇关	‹s.i›
妃	*fei*	phiei	业关	‹p.i›
義	*yi*	ngie	𢍏关	‹ŋ.i›
宜	*yi*	ngie	𢍏关	‹ŋ.i›
李	*li*	li	半关	‹l.i›

禮	*li*	leei	半关	‹l.i›
期	*qi*	gi	乂关	‹x.i›
起	*qi*	khi	乂关	‹x.i›
儀	*yi*	ngie	𠂇关	‹ŋ.i›
帝	*di*	teei	王	‹di›
帝	*di*	teei	今关关	‹t.i.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	秀关	‹ts.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	令关	‹s.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	秀关	‹ts.i›
騎	*qi*	gie	几关关	‹g.i.i›
室	*shi*	syit	𠂢关	‹ś.i›
持	*chi*	dri	𠂤关	‹c.i›
師	*shi*	srii	𠂢关	‹ś.i›

Words with the non-palatal, apical *ï* in MSC are usually transcribed 𠂆 ‹sh› and 𠂤 ‹tz›, but occasionally as 𠂢关 ‹ś.i›, 𠂤关 ‹c.i› as above. Cf. 職 𠂤 旨 𠂤 ‹tz› 知 𠂤 ‹tz› 師 𠂆 ‹sh›. In the ZYYY, most words with *ï* in MSC are in a separate group, but some, such as 知 *zhi* 'know', 制 *zhi* 'system', 恥 *chi* 'shame' 失 *shi* 'lose', 世 *shi* 'world', 日 *ri* 'sun' are listed under final *i*, not *ï*. In the Liao rhymes, there is only *i*, there is no obvious emergence of *ï*. This, however, is clear in the Kitan transcriptions. Note that 内 *nei* 'inside', 雷 *lei* 'lightning' and 淚 *lei* 'tears' have a medial *u* in the Liao transcriptions, as in the ZYYY.

(3a) ui

尉	*wei*	qiuei	𠂉关	‹ui.i›
衛	*wei*	hiueei	𠂉关	‹ui.i›
國	*guo*	kuek	几𠂉	‹g.ui›
隋	*sui*	ziue	令𠂉	‹s.ui›
隋	*sui*	ziue	𠂇𠂉	‹z.ui›

(3b) ï (not attested in the rhymes)

紫	*zï*	cie	𠂇谷	‹z.ï›
子	*zï*	ci	𠂇谷	‹z.ï›
使	*shï*	sri	𠂆谷	‹sh.ï›
事	*shï*	jri	𠂆	‹sh›
司	*sï*	si	𠂢	‹ss›
刺	*cï*	chie	𠂢	‹ss›

(3c) ie

謝	*xie*	zyae	𗍫𗅋	‹s.ie›
射	*ye*	yae	𗀍𗅋	‹ei.ie›
節	*jie*	ceet	𗍫𗅋	‹z.ie›

The graph 𗅋 is used to indicate medial -i-. As a final, it was probably pronounced [ie].

(3d) ei

德	*de*	tek	𗍫𗀍	‹t.ei›
德	*de*	tek	𗈪𗀍	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	𗍫𗅆	‹d.i›
特	*te*	dek	𗈪𗀍	‹d.ei›
特	*te*	dek	𗍫𗀍	‹t.ei›

There is no sign of a final *k* in these words, which are written with 𗀍 ‹ei›, which is also used to transcribe Chinese initial *y*. MSC 特 *tè* is irregular, the regular development would be **dé*.

(4) ai

Zhang Lian epitaph: 開 *kai* 才 *cai* 偕 *xie* 恢 *hui* 頹 *tui*
Daozong epitaph: 會 *hui* 碎 *sui* 霈 *pei* 晦 *hui*

開	*kai*	khei	𗅆𗄿	‹x.ai›
開	*kai*	khei	𗏁𗄿	‹k.ai›
大	*da*	dai	𗂧𗄿	‹da.ai›
大	*da*	dai	𗍫𗄿	‹ta.ai›
大	*da*	dai	𗍫𗄿𗅆	‹ta.ai.i›
大	*da*	dai	𗈪𗄿𗅆	‹d.ai.i›
冊	*ce*	chreak	𗐤𗐍	‹c.ah›
伯	*bo*	paek	𗐚𗐍	‹b.ah›
客	*ke*	khaek	𗅆𗐍	‹x.ah›
帛	*bo*	paek	𗉘𗐍	‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii	𗉘𗐍	‹p.ah›
太	*tai*	thai	𗍫𗄿	‹t.ai›
太	*tai*	thai	𗈪	‹tai›
採	*cai*	chei	𗍫𗄿	‹s.ai›

Many words in MC final stops which have final *e* in MSC are listed under *ai* in the ZYYY. These include 策 *chai* (Mand. *ce*) 'policy' and 客 *kai* 'guest' (MSC *ke*). The Kitan transcriptions are 冊 ‹c.ah› (MC chreak) and 客'guest' ‹x.ah› (MC *kaek*). Note also 伯 'uncle' ‹b.ah› (MC *paek*). There seems to be a correlation between ‹ah› and MC final *-k*. Note 牌 is written both ‹p.ah› and ‹p.ai›. Aisin Gioro noted the connection between ‹ah› and the MC Grade 2 vowels /ae/ and /ea/ rather than the final /k/, and suggested the vowel in ‹ah› might be [æ]. Shen Zhongwei 2007 suggests [ɛj].

(5) u

Zhang Jian epitaph 紆 *yu* 書 *shu* 謨 *mo* 孚 *fu*

Here and elsewhere Ding Zhimin includes rhymes from Shigong Dashi, *Zuiyi ge.* However, this was translated from Kitan into Chinese by Yelü Chucai during the Yuan, so the rhymes cannot be considered Liao Chinese.

吾	*wu*	ngu		‹ŋ.u›
道	*dao*	dau		‹dau.u›
保	*bao*	pau		‹ŋ.u›
武	*wu*	miu		‹w.u›
游	*you*	yeu		‹ei.iu.u›
右	*you*	hiu		‹ei.iu.u›
洛	*luo*	lak		‹l.au.u›
略	*lüe*	liak		‹l.iau.u›
副	*fu*	phieu		‹pu.u›
許	*xu*	xio		‹x.iú›
書	*shu*	syo		‹ś.iú›
署	*shu*	dzyo		‹ś.iú›
禦	*yu*	ngio		‹ŋ.iú›
主	*zhu*	cyu		‹tz.iú›
部	*bu*	bu		‹b.û›
祖	*zu*	cu		‹z.ú›
祖	*zu*	cu		‹s.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok		‹ś.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok		‹ś.û›
祿	*lu*	luk		‹l.uh›
吳	*wu*	ngu		‹ŋ.u›

五	*wu*	ngu	𗼇𗍁	‹ŋ.u›
福	*fu*	piuk	𗴂	‹pu›
僕	*pu*	buk	𗾞𗍁	‹p.u›
僕	*pu*	buk	𗾞𗍁	‹pú.ú›
僕	*pu*	buk	𗾞𗐯	‹b.uh›
副	*fu*	phieu	𗴂	‹fu›
富	*fu*	pieu	𗴂	‹fu›
部	*bu*	bu	𗾞𗍁	‹p.ú›
部	*bu*	bu	𗾞𗍁	‹b.ú›
部	*bo*	bu	𗾞𗍁𗍁	‹b.û.ú›
夫	*fu*	piu	𗴂	‹pu›
駙	*fu*	biu	𗴂	‹pu›
輔	*fu*	piuk	𗴂	‹pu›
輔	*fu*	piuk	𗴂𗍁	‹fu.û›
輔	*fu*	piuk	𗴂𗍁	‹fu.u›
武	*wu*	miu	𗣼𗍁	‹w.u›
武	*wu*	miu	𗣼𗴂	‹w.ú›
武	*wu*	miu	𗣼𗐯	‹w.uh›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𗹦𗾞	‹ś.eu›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𗹦𗾞𗏁	‹ś.eu.iû›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𗹦𗏁	‹ś.iû›
淑	*shu*	jyuk	𗹦𗾞𗍁	‹ś.eu.ú›
六	*liu*	liuk	𗤶𗥃	‹l.iu›
右	*you*	hieu	𗥃𗾞𗍁	‹ei.eu.ú›
守	*shou*	syeu	𗹦𗾞	‹ś.eu›
壽	*shou*	jyeu	𗹦𗾞𗍁	‹ś.eu.ú›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𗵘𗥃	‹s.iu›
牛	*niu*	ngieu	𗼇𗥃	‹ŋ.iu›
九	*jiu*	kieu	𗢳𗥃	‹g.iu›
休	*xiu*	xieu	𗅁𗥃	‹x.iu›
留	*liu*	lieu	𗤶𗥃	‹l.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𗵘𗥃	‹z.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𗵘𗥃	‹s.iu›
修	*xiu*	sieu	𗵘𗥃	‹s.iu›

(6) eu

Guangjishi inscription: 流 *liu* 幽 *you* 猷 *you* 投 *tou* 求 *qiu* 優 *you* 抽 *chou* 休 *xiu* 游 *you* 儔 *shou*

Xiao Dewen epitaph: 遘 *gou* 授 *shou* 宥 *you* 副 *fu* 獸 *shou* 竇 *dou* 胄 *zhou* 有 *you* 陋 *lou* 后 *hou* 殿 *jiu* 富 *fu* 晝 *zhou* 壽 *shou* 岫 *xiu* 朽 *xiu*

守	*shou*	syeu	𠂤土	‹ś.eu›
婁	*lou*	leu	屮土	‹l.eu›
州	*zhou*	cyeu	𠂢土	‹c.eu›
留	*liu*	lieu	屮丙	‹l.iu›
游	*you*	yeu	丂丙攴	‹ei.iu.ú›

(7) au

Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 高 *gao* 豪 *hao* 勞 *lao* 堯 *yao*
Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 考 *kao* 耀 *yao* 導 *dao* 號 *hao*

洛	*luo*	lak	屮夾攴	‹l.au.u›
藥	*yao*	yak	丂夾攴	‹ei.au.u›
曹	*cao*	jau	𠆢夾	‹s.au›
高	*gao*	kau	几夾	‹g.au›
誥	*gao*	kau	乂夾	‹x.au›
驃	*biao*	pieu	𩥈孝	‹b.iau›
廟	*miao*	mieu	朩孝	‹m.iau›
小	*xiao*	sieu	𠆢孝	‹s.iau›
少	*shao*	syeu	𠂤孝攴	‹ś.iau.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	屮孝攴	‹l.iau.u›
趙	*zhao*	drieu	𠂆孝攴	‹tz.iau.u›
堯	*yao*	ngeeu	𡍮孝攴	‹ŋ.iau.u›
少	*shao*	syeeu	𠂤孝尺	‹ś.iau.û›
昭	*zhao*	cyeu	𠂢孝	‹c.iau›
昭	*zhao*	cyeu	𠂆孝	‹tz.iau›
校	*jiao*	kaeu	几孝	‹g.iau›

(8) aŋ

Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 章 *zhang* 疆 *jiang* 光 *guang* 邦 *bang*
Yide huanghou epitaph: 帳 *zhang* 上 *shang* 楊 *yang* 帳 *zhang* 貺 *kuang*

江	*jiang*	kaong	几𠂤	‹g.aŋ›
章	*zhang*	cyang	刃𠂤	‹ja.aŋ›
尚	*shang*	jyang	冏𠂤	‹ca.aŋ›
上	*shang*	jyang	𠂢𠂤	‹c.aŋ›

長	*chang*	driang	𘓐𘐪	‹ca.aŋ›
唐	*tang*	dang	𘐢𘐪	‹ta.aŋ›
郎	*lang*	lang	𘐣𘐪	‹l.aŋ›
敞	*chang*	chyang	𘓐𘐪	‹ca.aŋ›
常	*chang*	jyang	𘓐𘐪	‹ca.aŋ›
行	*xing*	haeng	𘓐𘐪	‹ha.áŋ›
相	*xiang*	siang	𘐤𘐪	‹s.iaŋ›
將	*jiang*	ciang	𘐤𘐪	‹s.iaŋ›
將	*jiang*	ciang	𘐤𘐪	‹z.iaŋ›

(8a) oŋ

王	*wang*	hiuang	𘐪	‹oŋ›
光	*guang*	kuang	𘐪	‹g.oŋ›

(9) iŋ (*not* eŋ)

Zhao Dejun qi zeng Qinguo daren Zhong-shi epitaph: 榮 *rong*, 膺 *ying* 聲 *sheng* 名 *ming* 清 *qing* 塋 *ying* 城 *cheng* 銘 *ming*
Jia Shixun epitaph: 應 *ying* 病 *bing* 定 *ding*

應	*ying*	qing	𘐪	‹iŋ›
平	*ping*	biaeng	𘐪	‹p.iŋ›
兵	*bing*	piaeng	𘐪	‹bi.iŋ›
經	*jing*	keeng	𘐪	‹g.iŋ›

(10) uŋ

Xiao Yi epitaph: 公 *gong* 崇 *chong* 隆 *long* 忠 *zhong* 鴻 *hong* 終 *zhong* 重 *zhong* 豐 *feng* 窮 *qiong*
Daozong epitaph: 峰 *feng* 容 *rong* 蹤 *zong* 宗 *zong*

宗	*zong*	coŋ	𘐤𘐪	‹s.úŋ›
宗	*zong*	coŋ	𘐤𘐪	‹z.úŋ›
奉	*feng*	biuŋ	𘐪	‹p.úŋ›
崇	*chong*	jriuŋ	𘐪	‹ca.úŋ›
宮	*gong*	kiuŋ	𘐪	‹g.iu.uŋ›
統	*tong*	thoŋ	𘐪	‹tu.uŋ›
龍	*long*	lioŋ	𘐪	‹l.iúŋ›

Syllables with initial labials such as MSC 崩 *beng*, 烹 *peng*, 夢 *meng*, 猛 *meng*, 風 *feng* and 馮 *feng* were included in the -uŋ group in the ZYYY: 崩 *bung*, 烹 *pung*, 夢 *mung*, 猛 *mung*, 風 *fung*, 馮 *fung*. This was also the case in Liao. Words such as 龍 *long* 'dragon' preserve the MC medial i in both the ZYYY (*liung*) and in Liao Chinese ‹l.iúŋ›.

(11) an

Liu Haichan: 丹 *dan* 難 *nan* 山 *shan* 間 *jian* 般 *ban* 難 nan 田 *tian* 千 *qian*
Shengzong epitaph: 旦 *dan* 段 *duan* 諫 *jian*

蘭	*lan*	lan	𘍞𘐊𘓐	‹l.a.an›
山	*shan*	srean	𘐊𘐊𘓐	‹ś.a.an›
安	*an*	qan	𘐊𘓐	‹a.an›

(11a) ên

乾	*qian*	gien	𘐊𘐊	‹ki.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	𘐊𘐊𘐊	‹t.ie.ên›
殿	*yuan*	deen	𘐊𘐊𘐊	‹d.ie.ên›
院	*yuan*	hiuen	𘐊𘐊	‹y.ên›
院	*yuan*	hiuen	𘐊𘐊𘐊	‹ŋ.y.iên›
宣	*xuan*	siuen	𘐊𘐊𘐊	‹s.y.iên›
仙	*xian*	sien	𘐊𘐊𘐊	‹s.ie.ên›
前	*qian*	jeen	𘐊𘐊𘐊	‹s.ie.ên›

(11b) on

The ZYYY has a separate category not attested in the Liao rhymes, 桓歡 *on*. It includes 半 *bon* 'half' 滿 *mon*, 端 *don* 'carry', 團 *ton* 'group', 暖 *non* 'warm', 卵 *lon* 'egg', 算 *son* 'calculate' 官 *gon* 'official', 館 *gon* 'building', 寬 *kon* 'broad', 歡 *hon* 'happy' The Liao rhymes indicate these words had the final *an*. The Kitan transcriptions indicate final *on*, as in the ZYYY.

團	*tuan*	duan	𘐊𘐊	‹to.on›
觀	*guan*	kuan	𘐊𘐊	‹go.n›

(12) en

Fuma zeng Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 勛 *xun* 存 *cun* 人 *ren* 神 *shen* 春 *chun*
Ma Zhiwen qi Zhangguan epitaph: 文 *wen* 君 *jun* 薰 *xun* 云 *yun* 群 *qun* 軍 *jun* 勤 *qin* 芬 *fen* 紛 *fen* 忻 *xin* 墾 *gen* 焚 *fen* 聞 *wen* 裙 *qun* 分 *fen* 曛 *xun* 墳 *fen*

門	*men*	muen	爻木	‹m.en›
陳	*chen*	drin	朱木	‹c.en›
陳	*chen*	drin	朱雨	‹c.in›
臣	*chen*	jyin	朱木	‹c.en›
臣	*chen*	jyin	朱雨	‹c.in›

(13) am

This group corresponds to two groups in the ZYYY: *am* and *iam*.

Guyushan temple inscription: 岩 *yan* 藍 *lan* 瞻 *zhan*
Fayun dashi epitaph: 險 *xian,* 漸 *jian,* 焰 *yan*

三	*san*	sam	仝力乃	‹s.a.am›
監	*jian*	kaem	八寸乃	‹g.ia.am›

(13a) êm

監	*jian*	kaem	八寸圣	‹g.ia.êm›
點	*dian*	teem	奎圣	d.êm
檢	*jian*	kiem	八爻圣	g.ie.êm

(14) im

Xuanyi epitaph: 沉 *chen* 尋 *xun* 心 *xin* 今 *jin*
Zhang Zhengsong epitaph: 金 *jin* 今 *jin* 深 *shen* 音 *yin*

金	*jin*	kim	八爻	‹gi.m›

7.22 The question of the glottal stop

There are five separate rhyme groups in Liao poetry which had stop endings in MC. This indicates that the MC endings *-p -t -k* had all coalesced into a glottal stop, separate from open syllables. In Liao, iʔ is distinguished from eʔ, but these have coalesced by the Jin.

Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song
曷屑	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
葉帖	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
德職	德 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
陌錫	昔 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
緝邑	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
質沒	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
屋燭	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ
鐸藥	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ
覺學	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ

It is clear from the rhymes that Liao Chinese preserved a glottal stop. At least in poetry. We have a very important note, however, from the *Mengqi bitan* by Shen Gua. In commenting on the *Jingdian shiwen,* Shen Gua noted that "Xiong Ansheng was originally from Heshuo (Hebei) and his *fanqie* often reflect northern pronunciation. Lu Deming was from Wu, and mainly follows the Wu pronunciation. Zheng Kangsheng was from Qi, and mainly followed the eastern pronunciation. For example, in the expression 璧有肉好 *bi you rou hao* 'a jade *bi* 璧 consists of a 肉 *rou* 'outer section' and a 好 *hao* 'inner area', 肉 sounds like 揉. This is northern pronunciation. Even now the Heshuo people pronounce 肉 as 揉, and 贖 as 樹." (Ding Zhimin 2006:88). This expression is from the Erya: 肉倍好，謂之璧. Commentary: 璧亦玉器。子男所執者也。璧之制，肉，邊也，好，孔也。邊大倍於孔者，名璧. "A *bi* is also a jade implement. It is held by viscounts and barons. The *bi* is made of a *rou*, the outer section, and a *hao*, the inner area. The outer [solid] area is twice the width of the inner [empty] area."

It is possible to interpret this in a variety of ways, but it looks as if Shen Gua is saying that the people of Hebei pronounce words like 肉 'meat' (MC *nyuk*) and 贖 'lose' (MC *zyuk*) like 揉 (MC *nyeu*) and 樹 (MC *jyu*), which did not have a final *-k* in MC or a final -ʔ in Song Chinese. This would mean that the final stop categories were observed in writing poetry, but not in the everyday speech of people in Hebei.

7.23 Finals derived from MC final stops in Kitan transcription

There are 36 characters derived from words with MC final stops transcribed into Kitan graphs.

叔 *shu* MC *syuk*	淑 *shu* MC *jyuk*	蜀 *shu* MC *jyok*
睦 *mu* MC *miuk*	祿 *lu* MC *luk*	督 *du* MC *tok*
福 *fu* MC *piuk*	六 *liu* MC *liuk*	僕 *pu* MC *buk*
藥 *yao* MC *yak*	洛 *luo* MC *lak*	略 *lüe* MC *liak*
伯 *bo* MC *pak*	郭 *guo* MC *kuak*	涿 *zhuo* MC *traok*
職 *zhi* MC *cyik*	德 *de* MC *tek*	特 *te* MC *dek*
國 *guo* MC *kuek*	冊 *ce* MC *chaek*	帛 *bo* MC *baek*
伯 *bo* MC *paek*	客 *ke* MC *khaek*	易 *yi* MC *yek*
石 *shi* MC *jyek*	察 *cha* MC *crheat*	節 *jie* MC *cet*
滑 *hua* MC *hueat*	越 *yue* MC *hyuat*	室 *shi* MC *syit*
漆 *qi* MC *chit*	密 *mi* MC *mit*	十 *shi* MC *jyip*

7.24 Kitan transcriptions of characters with MC final stops

越	*yue*	hyuot	𘞥𘟙	‹y.e›
節	*jie*	ceet	𘝦𘞤	‹z.ie›
察	*cha*	chreat	𘟂	‹ca›
漆	*qi*	chit	𘜶𘞣	‹ts.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	𘝦𘞣	‹z.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	𘝧𘞣	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	𘞯𘞣	‹ś.i›
室	*shi*	siet	𘞯𘞣	‹ś.i›
藥	*yao*	yak	𘜒𘞥𘞤	‹ei.au.u›
壽	*shou*	jyeu	𘞯𘞱𘞤	‹ś.eu.u›
右	*you*	hieu	𘜒𘞱𘞤	‹ei.eu.u›
洛	*luo*	lak	𘞮𘞥𘞤	‹l.au.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	𘞮𘞦𘞤	‹l.iau.u›
博	*bo*	pak	𘜓𘞭	‹b.oh›
郭	*guo*	kuak	𘞧	‹go›
德	*de*	tek	𘝧𘜒	‹t.ei
德	*de*	tek	𘝪𘜒	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	𘝧𘞣	‹t.i›
特	*te*	dek	𘝧𘜒	‹t.ei›

特	*te*	dek	𘤀𘥂	‹d.ei›
國	*guo*	kuek	𘠏𘣊	‹g.ui›
水	*shui*	syuii	𘟂𘣊	‹ś.ui›
内	*nei*	nuei	𘤀𘣊	‹n.ui›
職	*zhi*	cyik	𘣼	‹tz›
知	*zhi*	trie	𘣼	‹tz›
旨	*zhi*	cyii	𘣼	‹tz›

There are three graphs which sometimes appear to be associated with MC stop finals: 𘠅 ‹ah› 𘠇 ‹oh› and 𘠆 ‹uh›:

冊	*ce*	chaek	𘠅𘠅	‹c.ah›
客	*ke*	khaek	𘣊𘠅	‹x.ah›
伯	*bo*	paek	𘠃𘠅	‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii	𘠃𘠅	‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii	𘠃𘠄	‹p.ai›
博	*bo*	pak	𘥂𘠇	‹b.oh›
祿	*lu*	luk	𘟥	‹lu›
祿	*lu*	luk	𘟥𘠆	‹lu.uh›
祿	*lu*	luk	𘠁𘠆	‹l.uh›
武	*wu*	miu	𘤀𘠉	‹w.ú›
武	*wu*	miu	𘤀𘠆	‹w.uh›

It is quite possible that ‹ah› may have been [ai], but it is generally distinguished from 𘠄 ‹ai›. There may have been some difference in the vowel. 𘠅 ‹ah› 𘠇 ‹oh› and 𘠆 ‹uh› are also commonly used to transcribe open syllables. Generally speaking there is no consistency in the use of the graphs used to transcribe syllables which ended in stops in MC and probably a glottal stop in Song Chinese. This does not prove that Liao Chinese did not have a glottal stop in such words, just that the Kitan transcription does not indicate it.

蜀	*shu*	jyok	𗼇𗴲	‹ś.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok	𗼇𗵆	‹ś.û›
楚	*chu*	chrio	𗹡𗴲	‹c.ú›
祖	*zu*	cu	𗴲𗴲	‹s.ú›
武	*wu*	miu	𗶒𗴲	‹w.ú›
魯	*lu*	lu	𗿼𗴲	‹l.ú›
護	*hu*	hu	𗰗𗵆	‹xu.û›
度	*du*	du	𗴩𗵆	‹t.û›
諸	*zhu*	cyo	𗵘𗵆	‹tz.û›
部	*bu*	bu	𗿹𗵆	‹bû›
福	*fu*	piuk	𗴩	‹pu›
駙	*fu*	biu	𗴩	‹pu›
父	*fu*	piu	𗴩	‹pu›
府	*fu*	piu	𗴩	‹pu›
六	*liu*	liuk	𗿼丙	‹l.iu›
修	*xiu*	sieu	𗴲丙	‹s.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𗴲丙	‹s.iu›

7.25 Initials of Liao Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 made an interesting discovery in his study of the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi.* Many such words have a second syllable beginning with Chinese *l:* 暴里 *baoli;* 迭烈 *dielie*, 撻林 *dalin*; 梯里己 *tiliji*, 撻剌子 *dalazi*; 獨盧金 *dulujin*; 塔里捨 *talishe*, 敵烈麻都 *diliemadu*, 陶里本 *taoliben*, 奪里本 *duoliben*; 忒里蹇 *telijian*; 吐里 *tuli*; 題里 *tili*, 甲里匣 *jialipo*, 迭烈特 *dieliete*. Nie suggested Kitan may have had initial consonants clusters of the type **pl-, *tr-,* or perhaps syllables like **pel, *ter.* Apparently there were special graphs for syllables like **hor, *dir* and others. Judging from the Kitan transcriptions of Chinese words in the inscriptions, it would seem that voicing and/or aspiration was not phonemic in Kitan, and that the basic Kitan phonemes were lax *b d g*, which may have had aspirated allophones.

Nie also suggests the first character in such words, however, is usually one which had a *voiced initial* in MC. This tends to suggest that the reflexes of the MC voiced initials were aspirated, as is the case in the Xixia transcriptions, the northwestern dialects studied in Coblin 1994 and in modern Gan and Hakka, in Sagart 1988. This is not the pattern of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or modern Mandarin, where the reflexes of MC voiced initials are aspirated voiceless in the level tones, and unaspirated voiceless in the non-level tones. This is confirmed by Gong Huangcheng 2005:491:

"From an investigation of the [Xixia] transcriptions, the Middle Chinese voiced stops and voiced affricates, irrespective of the tones, become aspirated voiceless stops and affricates. As far as the place of articulation is concerned, the postdentals have coalesced with the retroflexes, and the situation is the same as with the stops *b* > *ph, d* > *th, g* > *kh, dz* > *tsh, z* > *s,* and were transcribed the same as the original MC *ph th kh tsh* and *s*."

Labials and labiodentals

部	*bu*	bu	𗅋𗴲	‹b.û›
伯	*bo*	paek	𗅋𗵘	‹b.ah›
驃	*biao*	pieu	𗅋𗾞	‹b.iau›
保	*bao*	pau	𗅋𗹦	‹b.u›
僕	*pu*	phuk	𗅋𗹠	‹b.uh›
妃	*fei*	phiei	𗱱𗴑	‹p.i›
平	*ping*	biaeng	𗱱𗼻	‹p.iŋ›
奉	*feng*	biong	𗱱𗾔	‹p.úŋ›
府	*fu*	piu	𗍫	‹pu›
密	*mi*	mit	𗹭𗴑	‹m.i›
馬	*ma*	mae	𗹭𗵐	‹m.a›
廟	*miao*	mieu	𗹭𗾞	‹m.iau›
門	*men*	muen	𗹭𗼻	‹m.en›
文	*wen*	miun	𗴓𗹬	‹w.un›

Nie says the MC initials *piu- phiu- biu-* had all become *f-* and *miu-* had become *v-*. Moreover, in the *Liaoshi* glossary, there are no Chinese words beginning with *f,* indicating that in Kitan there was no *f* phoneme. 𗍫 ‹fu› occasionally appears in the transcription of Chinese words. From the transcription of Chinese, is not clear what difference there may have been between 𗅋 ‹b› and 𗱱 ‹p›, or the dentals 𗍿 ‹d› and 𗍫 ‹t›. It may be that the first of each was associated with front vowels and the second with back vowels, or that different vowels are involved.

Dentals

唐	*tang*	dang	仍兔	‹ta.aŋ›
台	*tai*	thei	丞	‹tai›
寧	*ning*	neeng	公用	‹n.iŋ›
内	*nei*	nuei	公火	‹n.ui›
禮	*li*	leei	斗关	‹l.i›
龍	*long*	liong	斗爪	‹l.iúŋ›
陵	*ling*	ling	斗用	‹l.iŋ›
令	*ling*	lieng	斗用	‹l.iŋ›
梁	*liang*	liang	斗丵	‹l.iáŋ›
郎	*lang*	lang	斗兔	‹l.aŋ›
蘭	*lan*	lan	斗为灵	‹l.a.an›
留	*liu*	lieu	斗丙	‹l.iu›
略	*lüe*	lak	斗考攴	‹l.iau.u›

Affricates and sibilants

青	*qing*	cheeng	余用	‹s.iŋ›
漆	*qi*	chit	余关	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	余关	‹s.i›
前	*qian*	jeen	余文方	‹s.ie.ên›
三	*san*	sam	余为乃	‹s.a.am›

商	*shang*	syang	𘤪𘥦	‹c.aŋ›
仁	*ren*	nyin	𘣱𘤾	‹źin›
尚	*shang*	jyang	𘣱𘥦	‹ś.aŋ›
省	*sheng*	sraeng	𘣱𘦂	‹ś.iaŋ›
聖	*sheng*	syeng	𘣱𘤾, 𘣱𘠷𘤾	‹ś.iŋ›,‹ś.i.iŋ›
山	*shan*	srean	𘣱𘀛𘠧	‹ś.a.an›
守	*shou*	syeu	𘣱𘦑	‹ś.eu›
書	*shu*	syo	𘣱𘠷	‹ś.iú›
水	*shui*	syuii	𘣱𘠷	‹ś.ui›
少	*shao*	syeeu	𘣱𘠧𘣱	‹ś.iau.u›
室	*shi*	syit	𘣱𘠷	‹ś.i›
署	*shu*	jyo	𘣱𘠷	‹ś.iú›
職	*zhi*	cyik	𘣱	‹tz›
政	*zheng*	cyeng	𘣱𘤾	‹tz.iŋ›
鄭	*zheng*	drieng	𘣱𘤾	‹tz.iŋ›
中	*zhong*	triung	𘦑𘦦	‹ju.uŋ›
章	*zhang*	cyang	𘦑𘥦	‹ja.aŋ›
事	*shi*	jri	𘣱	‹sh›
詩	*shi*	syi	𘣱	‹sh›
師	*shi*	srii	𘣱	‹sh›
使	*shi*	sri	𘣱	‹sh›
侍	*shi*	jyi	𘣱	‹sh›
司	*si*	si	𘣱	‹ss›
賜	*ci*	sie	𘣱	‹ss›

Mandarin 賜 *ci* is irregular; regular development would be *si*. The important thing is clear indication of *ï* in such words. Nie notes that the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi* all have initial *s*; none have affricates. The characters used are: 蕭速選思撒蘇莎珊辛先斯新賽.

Velars/laryngeals

開	*kai*	khei	𘠷𘠧	‹k.ai›
興	*xing*	xing	𘠷𘠷𘤾	‹x.i.iŋ›
期	*qi*	gi	𘠷𘠷	‹x.i›
開	*kai*	khei	𘠷𘠧	‹x.ai›
客	*ke*	khaek	𘠷𘠪	‹x.ah›

元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𗼇仲公	‹ŋ.ü.n›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𗼇𗼈公	‹ŋ.y.n›
乾	*qian*	gien	亚方	‹ki.ên›
銀	*yin*	ngin	𗼇雨	‹ŋ.in›
吾	*wu*	ngu	𗼇及	‹ŋ.ú›

Initial y-

右	*you*	hiu	丙与及	‹ei.eu.u›
射	*ye*	yep	丙文	‹ei.ie›
游	*you*	yu	丙丙及	‹ei.iu.u›

Initial w-

文	*wen*	miun	𗼈火	w.un
武	*wu*	miu	𗼈及	w.u

Medial -ie- [i̯]

仙	*xian*	sien	令文方	‹s.ie.ên›
前	*qian*	jeen	令文方	‹s.ie.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	令文方	‹t.ie.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	𗍫文方	‹d.ie.ên›

Medial -y- [ü̯]

元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𗼇𗼈虫	‹ŋ.y.iên›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𗼇𗼈公	‹ŋ.y.n›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𗼇仲公	‹ŋ.ü.n›

7.26 Conclusions

Putting this heterogeneous, incomplete and inconsistent material together, we can conclude that the Chinese dialect transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions had the following characteristics:

(1) It was of the Early Mandarin variety rather than the late Tang/Five dynasties type.
(2) The palatalisation of velars and sibilants before *i* had not occurred, so we have Liao *ging* for Mandarin *jing* 京, Liao *si* for Mandarin *xi* 西 and so on.
(3) Liao Chinese had initial *ŋ* and final *m*. Mandarin *r* was transcribed ‹ź›, probably [ʒ]. There is no evidence for [v]. The reflex of MC *miu-* was [w].
(4) The Mandarin finals *uan* and *uang* were Liao *on* and *ong*, as in the ZYYY. It is not clear if the Mandarin final *ün* was *iun* or *ün* in Liao; I have written *ün*.
(5) The apical vowel [ï] occured after 兀 ‹sh›, 夾 ‹tz› and 丗 ‹ss›. It was sometimes unwritten, sometimes written 谷 (吞) ‹ï›. Some words of this type were written 戈兴 ‹ś.i› rather than 兀谷 ‹sh.ï›, probably indicating the Kitan pronunciation of such words.
(6) Entering tone words were observed as a separate class in the rhymes, but not in the Kitan transcriptions. The script has three graphs, 糸 ‹ah›, 里 ‹oh› and 攵 ‹uh›, which might indicate a final stop. It is not impossible that when the Kitan script was devised, graphs were devised for these sounds because they actually existed in the type of Chinese used in the early Liao, but by the time of the inscriptions, this distinction had become blurred.
(7) The irregular way Kitan transcribed words with MC *p ph b*; *k, kh, g* etc. and Mandarin initials *b p*; *g k* etc. makes comparisons difficult. The Kitan script, however, shows a two way contrast, not a three way contrast. The irregularities may derive from the phonological incongruity of the Kitan and Chinese stops. The Kitan stops were probably voiced, and aspiration was not distinctive, or perhaps conditioned. The Chinese stops were unvoiced, with aspiration being phonemically distinctive.
(8) Medial i was preserved in such words as 宮 **giung* 'palace' 龍 **liung* 'dragon', cf. 公 **gung* 'lord'. Note also 牛 **ŋiu* and 尚 **chang*.

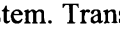
7.27 The phonological system of Liao Chinese

IPA-based transcription

p	ph	m	f	w
t	th	n	l	
ts	tsh	s		
tʃ	tʃh	ʃ	ʒ	
k	kh	x	ŋ	
aŋ	oŋ	iŋ	uŋ	
a	o	i	u	
ai		ɿ	ui	
au	eu	iu		
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
ɛn			yn	

Pinyin based transcription

b	p	m	f	w
d	t	n	l	
z	c	s		
zh	ch	sh	ř	
g	k	x	ŋ	
ang	ong	ing	ung	
a	o	i	u	
au	eu	iu		
ai		ï	ui	
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
ên			ün	

The transcription system used in this book for Liao Chinese, the type of Chinese reflected in the Kitan transcriptions, is a modification of *pinyin* rather than an IPA based system. Transcribing 兵馬都監 

‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› as **bingma dugiem* reveals a clear correspondence with ‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm›. To write it **piŋ ma tu kiæm* makes the correspondence less clear, unless we adopt a Chinese style type of IPA for Kitan as well, and write **p.iŋ ma tu k.ĭ.æm* for 𘮩𘮞 𘰾𘰇 𘮩 𘰾𘰇𘰀. Some Chinese researchers do this. But then we would have to write **p.as* for 𘮩𘰀 ‹b.as› 'again', cf. Mo. *basa* or **toro* for 𘰾 ‹doro› cf. Ma. *doron* 'seal' The transcription used here for Kitan is based on the same general principles used in Western scholarship to transcribe Mongol or Manchu.

7.28 Suggested Liao Chinese readings

7.001 *anguojun* 安國軍 𘰇𘰚 𘰾𘰚 𘰾𘰇 ‹a.an g.ui g.ün› **angui gün*
7.002 *Anzhou* 安州 𘰇𘰚 𘰀𘰽 ‹a.an c.eu› **an zheu*
7.003 *biaoji da jiangjun* 驃騎大將軍 𘮩𘮈 𘰾𘰚𘰚 𘰺𘰀 𘰇𘰚𘮩 𘰾𘰇 ‹b.iau g.i.i ta.ai s.iaŋ g.ün› **biaugi dai zianggün*
7.004 *bingma dujian* 兵馬都監 𘮩𘮞 𘰾𘰇 𘮩 𘰾𘰇𘰀 ‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› **bingma dugiem*
7.005 *bushusi* 部署司 𘰾𘰚𘰚 𘰾𘰚 𘰾𘰇 ‹p.u.u ś.iú ss› **bushiusï*
7.006 *chengzhi* 承旨 𘰀𘰚 𘰾 ‹ci.ŋ dz› **chengzï*
7.007 *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 𘰾𘰚 𘰾𘰺 𘰇𘰀 𘰾 ‹ca.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu› **chunglu daifu*
7.008 *cishi* 刺史 𘰾𘰚 𘰾 ‹s.ï sh› ~ 𘰾𘰇 𘰾 ‹ss sh› **cïshï*
7.009 *dianqian du dianjian* 殿前都點檢 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇𘰀 ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› **diensien du diemgiem*
7.010 *dianzhongshi* 殿中使 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾𘰇 ‹d.ie.ên ju.uŋ sh.ï› **dienzhungshï*
7.011 *du dianjian* 都點檢 𘰾 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇𘰀 ‹du d.êm g.ie.êm› **du diemgiem*
7.012 *fangyushi* 防禦使 𘰾𘰚 𘰾𘰚 𘰾 ‹fú.oŋ ŋ.iú sh› **fongŋushï*
7.013 *Fengsheng zhou* 奉聖州 𘰾𘰚 𘰾𘰇 𘰀𘰽 ‹p.úŋ śi.ŋ c.eu› **pungshing zheu*
7.014 *fubushu* 副部署 𘰾 𘰾𘰚𘰚 𘰾𘰚 ‹pu b.û ś.iú› ~ 𘰾 𘰾𘰚𘰚 𘰾𘰚 ‹pu b.u ś.iú› **fubushiu*
7.015 *fugongshi* 副宮使 𘰾𘰚𘰚 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾 ‹pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh› ~ 𘰾 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾 ‹fu g.iu.uŋ sh› **fugiungshï*
7.016 *fuguo shangjiangjun* 輔國上將軍 𘰾 𘰾𘰚 𘰾𘰇 𘰺𘰀 𘰾𘰇𘮩 𘰾𘰇 ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **fugui shang zianggün*
7.017 *gongdian* 宮殿 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾𘰇𘰀 ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› **giungdien*
7.018 *gongshi* 宮使 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾 ‹g.iu.uŋ sh.ï› ~ 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾 ‹g.iu.úŋ sh› **giungshï*
7.019 *guanchashi* 觀察使 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾𘰚 𘰾 ‹go.n ca sh› **gonchashï*

7.020 *Guanglingjun wang* 廣陵郡王 ‹g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ› **gonglinggün ong*

7.021 *guanglu daifu* 光祿大夫 ‹g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu› **gonglu daifu*

7.022 *guofei* 國妃 ‹g.ui p.i› **guifi*

7.023 *guoshi* 國師 ‹g.ui sh› **guishï*

7.024 *guozi jijiu* 國子祭酒 ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› **guizï zizieu*

7.025 *jiedushi* 節度使 ‹z.ie du sh› **ziedushï*

7.026 *Jin wang* 晉王 ‹s.in oŋ› **Zin oŋ*

7.027 *Jingzong huangdi* 景宗皇帝 ‹g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di› **Gingzung hongdi*

7.028 *jinwuwei shangjiangjun* 金吾衛上將軍 ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **gimŋu'ui shang zianggün*

7.029 *kaifu yitong sansi* 開府義同三司 ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› **kaifu ŋitung samsï*

7.030 *kaiguobo* 開國伯 ‹k.ai g.ui b.ah› ~ ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› **kaiguibai*

7.031 *libu shilang* 禮部侍郎 ‹l.i b.û sh.ïl.aŋ› **Libu shïlang*

7.032 *ling san sheng shi* 領三省事 ‹l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iaŋ sh› **ling sam siang shï*

7.033 *Luojing liushou* 洛京留守 ‹l.au.u g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› **lauging liusheu*

7.034 *pingluan gongchen* 平亂功臣 ‹p.iŋ l.a.on g.uŋ c.en› **pinglon gungchen*

7.035 *pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事 ‹p.iŋ tz.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï› **pingzhang zhingshï*

7.036 *qianniu weijiangjun* 千牛衛將軍 ‹s.ie.ên ŋ.iu ui.i z.iaŋ g.ün› **cie ŋiu'ui zianggün*

7.037 *Qishui xian kaiguo nan* 漆水縣開國男 ‹s.i ś.oi ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am› **cishuihien kaiguinam*

7.038 *shang shu you cheng xiang* 尚書右丞相 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› **changshiu yeu chengsiang*

7.039 *shangjiangjun* 上將軍 ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **shangzianggün*

7.040 *shangshu youbuye* 尚書右仆射 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie› **changshiu yeubuye*

7.041 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚書職方郎中 ‹c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› **changshiu zhïfang langzhung*

7.042 *shou sikong* 守司空 ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› **sheu sïkung*
7.043 *shou situ* 守司徒 ‹ś.eu ss tu› **sheu sïtu*
7.044 *shou taibao* 守太保 ‹ś.eu tai b.u› **sheu taibu*
7.045 *shou taishi* 守太師 ‹ś.eu tai sh› **sheu taishï*
7.046 *shuaifu shuai* 率府率 ‹ś.o fu ś.o› **shofu sho*
7.047 *Shuguo wang* 蜀國王 ‹ś.ú g.ui oŋ› **shugui ong*
7.048 *Si Jianu* 司家奴 ‹ss g.ia n.u› **sï gianu*
7.049 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* 太傅領三省事 ‹tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iaŋ sh› **taifu lingsam shangshï*
7.050 *Tai Miao* 太廟 ‹tai m.iau› **tai miau*
7.051 *taishi* 太師 ‹tai sh› ~ ‹tai ś.i› **taishï ~ taishi*
7.052 *taiwei* 太尉 ‹tai ui› **tai'ui*
7.053 *Wu wang* 吳王 'Prince of the State of Wu' ‹ŋ.u oŋ › **ŋu oŋ*
7.054 *Wuding* 武定 ‹w.u t.iŋ› **wuding*
7.055 *Wuqing xian* 武清縣 'Wuqing prefecture': ‹ú s.iŋ ki.en› **Wucing hien*
7.056 *xiaojiangjun* 小將軍 ‹s.iau s.iáŋ g.ün› **siauzianggün*
7.057 *Xincheng xian* 新城縣 ‹s.in c.iŋ ki.ên› **Sincing hien*
7.058 *xuanhuishi* 宣徽使 ‹s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï› **süanhuishï*
7.059 *yinqing chonglu daifu* 銀青崇祿大夫 ‹ŋ.in si.ŋ ca.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu **ŋincing chunglu daifu*
7.060 *yuanshuaifu* 元帥府 ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.ô pu› **ŋüenshofu*
7.061 *yuyuan tongjin* 御院通進 ‹ŋ.ú y.ên tu.uŋ z.in› **ŋiuyüen tungzin*
7.062 *zhaowu dajiangjun* 昭武大將軍 ‹c.iau w.u d.ai.i s.iaŋ g.ün› *zhiauwu daizianggün*
7.063 *zhengshiling* 政事令 ‹tz.iŋ sh l.iŋ› **zhing shï ling*
7.064 *zhenguo shangjiangjun* 鎮國上將軍 ‹tz.in g.ui ś.aŋ z.iaŋ g.ün› **zhin gui shang zianggün*
7.065 *zhongjing* 中京 ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› **zhung ging*
7.066 *zhongshu menxia pingzhangshi* 中書門下平章事 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› **zhungshiu menhia pingzhangshï*
7.067 *zhongshuling* 中書令 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ› 中書令 **zhungshiuling*
7.068 *zuo chengxiang* 左丞相 ‹z.o ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› **zochingsiang*
7.069 *zuo jianmenwei shangjiangjun* 左監門衛上將軍 ‹s.o g.ia.êm m.en ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **zo gienmen'ui shang zianggün.*

POSTSCRIPT

> It is unfortunate that this book which is "a social history of the Liao empire" does not devote a section, if not a chapter, to the Ch'i-tan language. Although, with the aid of the excellent "Analytical Index" it is possible to locate quickly and easily references to the Ch'i-tan words, which are discussed in the book, it is, nevertheless, rather difficult to form an impression of just what is known about the language... These "first tentative results of what may eventually be a more comprehensive investigation of the Ch'i-tan language" demonstrate how much can be done to salvage some of this extinct language for posterity. - Notes from Francis Cleaves included in a review by L. S. Yang on the section on the Kitan language by Karl Menges in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125).*

This book has presented what is currently generally accepted about the Kitan language and scripts amongst the community of researchers in this field. Over the years, many interpretations, suggestions, comparisons with other languages and so on have been generally accepted, many have not. Generally speaking, only the former have been included in this book, with some exceptions noted in passing.

The fact is that most of what we know about Kitan is through the prism of Chinese transcriptions. Nevertheless, patterns are beginning to emerge, in phonology, morphology and syntax. There is clear evidence for vowel harmony in Kitan, but the details are not clear. There is clear evidence for grammatical gender in Kitan, as revealed in different suffixes in the past tense of some verbs, the ordinal numbers and the dotted forms, but the evidence is not consistent. There are clear patterns of several types of converbs and finite verbs, but the differences between them are not known. There is clear evidence for connections between Kitan and Mongol, but those connections remain obscure.

New epitaphs continue to be discovered, at the rate of one or two a year, and each of them sheds new light on a particular graph or a grammatical feature. Most of the published versions have annotations and references to the *Liaoshi,* but few have been transcribed or even partially translated. There is always the hope, of course, that some manuscript will be discovered, or a translation of a *sutra*, or a word list. For the moment, however, we can only work with the texts at our disposal. Each of these texts merits far closer study.

New research promises to shed much light on some of the problems. Wen-chao Li 2006 is a study of the structure of the Song rhyme tables from the perspective of contacts between Chinese and Altaic languages; An-king Lim 2006 is on the influence of Old Turkic consonants and vowels on the transition from Late Old Chinese to Early Middle Chinese. These studies give some insight as to how speakers of Altaic languages, with front-back consonantal and vocalic oppositions, interpreted and modified the Chinese they adopted as their second language. Despite what we might know of Liao Chinese from Chinese sources, we lack a theoretical framework for a more realistic understanding of the relationship between the phonological structure of Liao Chinese and the phonological structure of Kitan, and how this influenced the way the Kitans wrote Chinese words in their script, or Chinese represented Kitan words in theirs.

Liu Fengzhu's *Collected Inscriptions in the Kitan Script*, the culmination of a lifetime's study of Kitan, is due to be published in late 2008. This will contain all the epitaphs currently available, in both the small and large script, with Liu's annotations. With this in hand, researchers will be able to study these texts in greater detail, and more insights can be expected.

At the University of Inner Mongolia, a research team under the direction of Professor Chinggeltei has been working on an updated version of *Research*. It will contain the texts in *Research,* together with a number of texts published since then, in a computer generated form, together with an updated concordance and a number of new studies on individual words and graphs. Wu Yingzhe, a member of this research team, has devised a computerised Kitan font and has produced a digitalised database of all available inscriptions in the small script, which is not yet published. The new publication will also contain an expanded list of Kitan small characters, incorporating a number of small graphs which occur in inscriptions discovered since *Research*.

Andrew Shimunek's recent MA thesis is on the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words, comparing those words to possible cognates in number of Mongolian languages. Nie Hongyin is also working on a new study of the Kitan words in Chinese texts; his research will be published in the near future. The epitaphs are also historical documents, and much of the commentaries on the published texts is concerned with identifying the subject of the epitaph, and what information is available in Chinese sources such as the *Liaoshi* and inscriptions in Chinese from the Liao dynasty. Aisin Gioro 2006 is a major study using the Kitan texts as historical materials. In this book and in earlier articles, Aisin Gioro has been able to reconstruct the genealogies of certain members of the Kitan aristocracy, and shed important light on Kitan titles and Kitan clan names. The Kitan epitaphs are a major

new source of information on the Kitans as seen through their own language and sources.

Many published texts, both handwritten and printed in various Kitan fonts, contain numerous transcriptional errors. Ji Shi, who has also been working on the Kitan inscriptions for more than thirty years, is currently compiling a *variorum* edition of a number of key inscriptions.

One of the many important issues about the Kitans is what happened to them. A powerful state, of several million people, of whom a sizeable proportion must have been ethnically Kitan, was defeated by the Jurchens, absorbed by the Mongols and disappeared without a trace. In the late 1980s, reports from Yunnan indicated that a minority group known as the 本人 *benren* "original people" claimed to be descended from Kitans, presumably part of the Mongol army stationed there. They had genealogical records, and some of the non-Chinese characters on their ancestral tombstones looked like Kitan, in particular 𘍽𘊕 ‹nai.d› 'officials, leaders' The Daurs have also a long standing myth of their origins, which suggests they are descended at least partially from the Kitans. The discovery of a well preserved body of a female shaman provided DNA which indicates that the claims of both the *benren* of Yunnan and the Daurs have some substance. There is some doubt about the authenticity of the "Kitan" graphs on the tombstones, and the language of the *benren* does not seem to shed much light on the Kitan of the inscriptions. The question of the linguistic relationship between Kitan and Daur is a fruitful field for further research.

Due to the efforts of past and present researchers, the Kitan inscriptions are less inscrutable than they have been since the discovery of the imperial eulogies in 1924. We can look forward to the day when the language of the inscriptions as well known as any other extinct language.

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